

A divided America turns on Obama

QUEEN MUM TELL-ALL



SPYING SPOUSES What men don't know

INSIDE THE JAMAICA HIJACKING

MACLEAN'S

OCT. 5th 2009

www.macleans.ca

JIM BALSILLIE VS. THE NHL

WHY THE BADASS BLACKBERRY BILLIONAIRE WENT BALLISTIC



$5.95 PM 40070230 R 08973

40

0 55113 70001 9





BRIAN MULRONEY celebrates the 25th anniversary of the first of his back-to-back majorities with his wife, Mila, and family

(JR, DAVE CHOLEY/CP IMAGES; SPENCER PLATT/GETTY IMAGES; BRYAN BEDDER/GETTY IMAGES; THIS PAGE: SHAUN BEST/REUTERS)

THIS WEEK

Interview

16 | DAVE SALMONI
Jonathon Gatehouse talks to the real-life lion king

Columns

12 | BARBARA AMIEL
Ukrainian bureaucrats foil Elton John's adoption plans

13 | PAUL WELLS
Michael Ignatieff must be watching *The West Wing*

14 | CAPITAL DIARY
Mitchel Raphael on Brian Mulroney's anniversary bash

Notional

16 | A CHEAP PROP?
NDP Leader Jack Layton rationalizes his Tory support

20 | 'LIFE OF THE PARTY'
Will Rahim Jaffer's recent troubles sink the rising star?

21 | BILKING BIKERS
Québécois motorcyclists are pinched by premiums

22 | HUNG OUT TO DRY
Canada needs to do more to protect employees' pensions

23 | A STARRING ROLE
CBC uses product placement
condoms in P.E.I. schools
McGill's M.B.A. tuition hike

MACLEAN'S

VOLUME 122 NUMBER 38, OCTOBER 5, 2009 • SINCE 1905

2 | From the Editors 4 | Mail Bag
7 | Seven Days 6 | Newsmakers

OCTOBER 5-12, 2009

THE BACK PAGES

56 | Media
Twitter is the sole reason anyone cares about Ashton Kutcher

62 | Music
Capturing the sounds of Haydn's performance halls

64 | Books
The story of three men who threw paint-filled eggs at Mao

66 | Film
Michael Moore is tired of waiting for people to rise up

67 | Fame
The Queen Mother was the woman of the century

69 | Bazaar
When going green feels really, really, really good

70 | Steyn
Rights gone wrong

72 | Feschuk
The wisdom of '80s lyrics, revealed

74 | The End
Norma Ann Wright, 1941-2009

SUBSCRIBE TO MACLEAN'S AT
WWW.MACLEANS.CA

World

24 | AMERICA OIVIOEO
All the goodwill toward Obama seems long gone

37 | CLINTON TAPES
A look into Bill Clinton's White House

39 | LEBANESE MADOFF
Ponzi scheme hits Hezbollah
Nazi memorabilia
Mexican tourist deaths

Business

40 | BALSILLIE
Why is the NHL shutting down RIM's billionaire boss?

46 | ECONOWATCH
Latest news on the economy

48 | FUSSING OVER FONTS
Unwelcome change at Ikea

Crime

49 | JAMAICAN HIJACKING
A first-person account of the CanJet crisis

Health

52 | THE BEAT GOES OFF
Heart trouble like Jonas Gustavsson's is not uncommon.

Society

53 | SERIAL SNOOPING
Spying on your significant other is easier than ever

History

54 | GLENN GOULD
Mark Kingwell on the legend



A RULING that a couple with twins can get twice the EI benefits may have set a precedent

Double the pleasure? It's just as it should be.

Christian Martin and Paula Critchley now have twice the reasons to celebrate This past spring the Ottawa couple welcomed the birth of twins Lucie and Athena And thanks to a recent ruling by the Employment Insurance Board of Referees, they will also be getting twice the parental benefits

The decision last week to accept the couple's argument that they should each be entitled to 35 weeks of EI benefits, since they'te both at home looking after a child, may have set a precedent for future multiple-birth families in Canada. It also reveals the power of fertility to re shape public policy

On a similar theme, this week a survey published in the *Journal of Obstetrics and Gynaecology Canada* revealed that nearly half of all delivery-room doctors would allow a pregnant woman to make her own decision regarding a Caesarean section, regardless of the medical circumstances This comes in the face of prevailing academic wisdom that C sections should be limited to cases in which they are medically necessary

And last week Statistics Canada reported on the trend toward delayed motherhood—half of all births in Canada are to women aged 30 and over The report spoke in glowing terms of the benefits of giving birth later in life, including the fact older mothers are better educated, have higher incomes and are more likely to own their own home The physical risks of childbirth at later age were dismissed as "fairly limited."

Over the past few decades Canada, along with most other Western nations has become inured to gloomy demographic news As the national birth rate is below the natural rate of replacement, the future prospects for our pension plans health care system and economic growth are in serious doubt

Given that women retain a monopoly on child production, society is becoming increasingly attentive to the wishes of new mothers Power rests in the womb and we should expect to see that power exercised freely If multiple EI claims for multiple births make new parents happier and more likely to procreate, then it's sound policy If pregnant mothers want to have C sections for personal reasons, who are the test of us to argue? And if women wish to delay childbirth for whatever reason, society should be prepared to make that a virtue as well Anything goes so long as it makes child-bearing more palatable

Will these accommodations work? This week Canadian demographers delivered a rare ray of hope According to the latest birth figures for Canada, fertility is on a slight upward trend In 2007 the total number of births in Canada reached its highest level since 1995 And the average number of children per woman is 1 66 up from 1 59 the year before While it's still below the replacement rate of 2 1, it remains a hopeful sign

It's often said you should never argue with a pregnant woman Now it's good policy too M

MACLEAN'S

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
KENNETH WHYTE

Editorial
Mark Stevenson
Senior Executive Editor
Geetal Kapoor
Managing Editors
Dianne de Fenly
Dianna Symonds
Executive Editor
Steve Maich
Senior and Associate Publisher, Special Projects
Joe Chiefly
National Editor
Andrew Coyne
Senior Editor
Mary Dwyer
(University Rankings)
Sarmishta Subramanian
(Features)
Senior Columnist
Paul Wells
National Correspondents
Jonathan Gatehouse
Charles Gil
(National Affairs)
Senior Writers
Brian Bethune
Michael Friedland
Brian D. Johnson
Anna Kingsbury
Jason Kirby
Michael Petrou
Associate Editors
Colin Campbell
Cathy Gulli
Jaime J. Weinman
Adrian Wherry
Assistant Editor
Yan Gobeil
Bureau
Ottawa John Geddes (Editor)
Québec Martin Patriquin
Toronto Carly Weeks
Calgary Nicholas Kohler
British Columbia Kevin MacDonald
Atlantic Canada
(Correspondent)
Washington Luiza Ch Savage
Editorial Large
Kelly Patterson Peter Shawn Taylor-Bell
Copy Editors
Michael Barclay Jen Gallo
Researcher-Reporter
Paula Trevisiol
Staff Reporters
Kate Lunau Rachel Mendelson
Interns
Kai Engelhart Tom Henheffer

Design
Art Director
Christine Dewary
Art Department
Stephen Gregory
(Associate Art Director)
Adam Chelawa
(Designer)
Lauren Cattermole
(Production Designer)
Photo Department
Andrew Tolson
(Director of Photography)
Jeff Harris (on leave)
(Assistant Photo Editor)
Phyllis Eng
Liz Sullivan
(Assistant Photo Editor)
Jessica Dallman
(Contributing Photographer)
Production and Technology
Director of Production Systems
Sean MacCudley
Systems Coordinator
Joe Privett
Digital Operator (Contributing)
Richard Reid II
Administration
Director of Finance and Operations
Christine Johnston
Editorial Assistant
Jessica Allen
Contributing Editors
Barbara Amiel
Sally Armstrong
John Bemrose
Scott Feschuk
Danny Heywood
Aaron R. Khan
Robert Lewis
William Lowther (Washington)
Julie McKinnon
Peter C. Newman
Andrew Potter
Martha Raphael
Alexandre Trudeau
Lawrence Martin
Macleans.ca
Editorial Director
Marc Weisblott
Managing Editor
John Intini
Deputy Editor
Brian Lilley
Editor-at-Large
Kevin Libin
Editorial Operations Manager
Erin Anderssen
Associate Editor
Jonathan Ore
(Features)

HOW TO REACH US

BY EMAIL
For letters to the editor story proposals
letters@macleans.ca
With letters please supply name address and daytime telephone number
We welcome readers' views but letters may be edited for space style and clarity
To search our archives
www.macleans.ca/search

BY PHONE
To comment on the magazine
(416) 764-1706
1-800-268-9119 (ext 1706)

BY MAIL
Maclean's, 11th floor
One Mount Pleasant Road
Toronto Ont. M4Y 2Y5

Editor-at-large department
(416) 764-1339
Fax (416) 764-1332

MACLEAN'S SUBSCRIBER SERVICES

ON THE WEB
Online service—see Customer Care Services below
www.macleans.ca/service

BY PHONE
1 888 MACLEANS
(1 888 622 5326)
In Toronto
(905) 946-0084
Office hours
Monday-Friday
8 a.m. to 8 p.m.
Saturday
10 a.m. to 5 p.m. EST

BY MAIL
Maclean's
P.O. Box 860 Station Main
Markham Ont. L3P 8H8

BY EMAIL
service@macleans.ca

Customer Care Services
Visit us on-line to
Subscribe or renew your subscription
• Change your mailing address
• Check your account status
• Report delivery problems
• Check your payment standing
• Give the gift of *Maclean's*
• View our privacy policy
• Check your expiry date
• Pay your invoice
• Learn about the *Maclean's* In Class Program
• Sign up for Storyline—a free enewsletter about *Maclean's*

MAIL PREFERENCES
From time to time other organizations like *Maclean's* may send some of its subscribers information about products or services that might be of interest If you prefer that we not share your name and address (email/or postal) contact us in any of the ways listed above

FRAGRANCE FREE READING
Subscribers who do not wish to receive advertisers scent strips in their copies of *Maclean's* should contact us by phone mail or email



JEFF GREENBERG/GETSTOCK

BLOGS



JOHN PARISELLA
The fact that media types like Glenn Beck and Rush Limbaugh engage in overt race baiting on a daily basis only adds to the perception that the GOP is out of sync with its basic principles and values.
macleans.ca/parisella



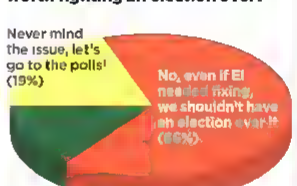
JAIME J. WEINMAN
On Emmy winners "*Mad Men* is easier to admire than to love and encourages a certain amount of audience distance And *30 Rock* is sort of a technocratic comedy where the joke writing is on a high level but almost every character is a cartoonish lunatic
macleans.ca/weinman

BACK ON THE HILL

Aaron Wherry takes the view from above with his daily sketch of Parliament's highs and lows. macleans.ca/wherry

WEB POLL RESULTS

Are Employment Insurance reforms worth fighting an election over?



Yes, if the Conservatives can't fix EI, they should be defeated (15%)

THIS WEEK'S POLL: macleans.ca/poll

CAUGHT ON FILM



Video Jennifer's Body star Diablo Cody talks teen sex Megan Fox and her new movie *Jennifer's Body* with Brian D. Johnson macleans.ca/johnson

MACLEAN'S

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
KENNETH WHYTE

Executive Assistant to the Editor-in-Chief
Jaclyn Dellorto
Advertising Sales
Toronto (416) 764-3001
sales@macleans.ca
SVP, Sales, Consumer Publishing
Kathryn Bowen
Senior Group Advertising Directors
Lorraine Hoffer Angela Jones
Director, Insertable Supplements
Nick Cino
Sales Manager, Toronto, Northern and Eastern USA
Leata Carlson
Account Managers, Toronto
Marie-Claude Rosario
Julie Belli Jacqueline Hamm
Carol Leighton Dana Lennon
Jen Matheson
Jenna Chatellen (on leave)
Penny Hicks (on leave)
Senior National Account Manager, Southwestern USA and Texas
Roberta Thomson
Montreal (514) 845-5441
ventes@macleans.ca
Vice-President, Sales Eastern Canada
Lise Millette
Account Manager, Montreal
Julie Chevrette Barbara Crevier
John Gill
Western Canada (604) 739-9975
karen@regersnet.com
Western Canada Manager
Karen Marshall
Account Manager, Western Canada
Lorna Charleson Sandra Cenna
Nicole Uebelhack
Advertising Sales Administration
Administrative Assistant
Kathy Pavlopoulos
Sales Coordinators
Celina Gaetha
Veronica Stefanovik
Erin Sprague
Advertising Billing Supervisor
Barbara Lewicki
Advertising Representatives
Western U.S. Peter D. Scott
England Scandinavia
Greece Brazil France Holland
Belgium Switzerland
Bernard Pierce Germany
Renata Gaul Irma Gaul
South Africa Tom O'Brien
Production
Vice-Director
John Hall
Director of Production
Colleen Connachan
Production Manager
Joan Brimmell
Natasha Hunt (on leave)
Research
Director of Research
Amy Burton
Associate Director of Research
Eric Hanson
Communications
Director of Public Relations
Sanaz Khorrami
Public Relations Consultant
Louise Lees
Marketing
Director
Scott Kwak
Marketing
Erin Graham Sarah Jane Pearce

Strategic Creative
Vice President
Jamuel Richard Linch
Creative Director
Carleigh Wilson
Studio Manager
Nevan Azzam
Art Directors
Mae Berk
Yvonne Lees
Design and Web Producer
John MacGillivray
Project Managers
Amy Best Sandra Nawrot
Tara Cranney
macleans.ca
Manager
Shelley Feschuk
Diversity Director
Jenn Ilas Sage
Sales Managers, Toronto
Perry Dinos
Sandra Mackechnie
Account Managers
Jennifer Blakey Dana Brown
Alison Bailey Mia Cavenagh
Jaclyn Levesque James MacRae
Joe Wylie
Account Managers, Montreal
Thibaut Bovet
Maxime Tyan
Coordinators
Caroline Bergeron Kelly Sheahan
Hanna Tsvetkova
Consumer Marketing
VP Consumer Marketing Direct
Tracey McKinney
Group Director, Consumer Marketing
Kathleen Hall
Director, Retail Sales
Mark Merrill
Consumer Marketing Director
Brigitte Lemay
Manager, Magazine Subscriptions Services
Monica Kuehner
Business Operations
Business Director
Barbara Angus
Business Manager
Elzbieta Jurecka
Reprint and Permission Requests
Christine Johnston
(416) 764-3001
Receptionist
Barbara Murray

Rogers Media Inc.
President and CEO
Anthony Viner
Rogers Publishing Limited
President and CEO
Brian Segal
SVP, Consumer Publishing and President, Editorial Content Director
Marc Tétreault
Senior Vice Presidents
Michael J. Fox
John Mahon
Vice President
Maryse Chevriere
Patrick Pennell

ROGERS

Maclean's is published 26 times a year by Rogers Publishing Limited at 1 Mount Pleasant Road Toronto Ontario M4Y 2Y5 Canada
Publication Mail Agreement No. 40070230 Registration No. 09873
We acknowledge the financial support of the Government of Canada through the Publications Assistance Program (PAP) and the Canada Magazine Fund Fees for mailing and editorial costs
U.S. POSTMASTER: Periodicals postage paid at Niagara Falls NY USPS 087-020 Send address changes from 35739 to Postmaster Niagara Falls Niagara Falls NY 14304-1006 Send address changes to Maclean's PO Box 454 Station A Niagara Falls ON L2E 6V8 Canada
Printed in Canada



'Seventy per cent of Canadians don't want an election this fall. The reason: we don't need it.'

LITERARY COUP

IS DAN BROWN'S newest book really "The most anticipated book in decades," as you state on your cover? Have you ever heard of Harry Potter?
Katie Saunders, Waterloo, Ont

VOTER ANTIPATHY

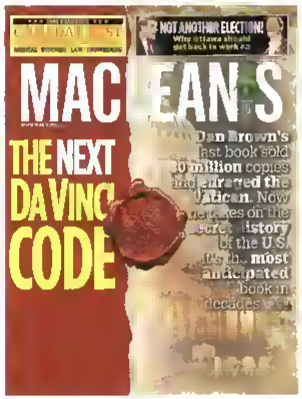
YOUR EDITORIAL "Why we don't need another election" (From the editor's desk, Sept 21) is well reasoned, timely and consistent with public opinion a fourth election in five years should be avoided if possible But wasn't the same logic true in 2008, when we faced our third election in four years? Did the same public aversion to an election not exist then? It is difficult not to dismiss the 2008 election as political opportunism and a Conservative overestimation of the power of character assassination and negative advertising Much is made of the potential costs of a 2009 election, but the 2008 election cost us four months of government inactivity while we were in the throes of a major recession
Robert Marshall, Guelph, Ont

A RECENT poll says 70 per cent of Canadians are against an election this fall The reason is simple we don't need it A selfish opposition will apparently force it upon us even though there are no compelling ballot box issues If there is an issue, it has to be stability Prime Minister Stephen Harper and the Conservatives, although imperfect, are providing stable government Most Canadians understand the focus now should be the economy, and are annoyed with the opposition for inventing reasons to go to the polls None of the opposition parties are capable of winning a majority, which leaves one credible option: give Harper the majority he deserves and the stability the country needs
Gerald Hall, Parksville, B C

DRIVING SHAME

DARCY ALLEN SHEPPARD, the cyclist who died after a confrontation with former Ontario attorney general Michael Bryant on the streets of Toronto, would probably still be alive if the police would have done their job ("A tragic encounter," National, Sept 21) In his home province of Alberta, they could have spent a couple hundred of my dollars to bring him back to face the 61 outstanding arrest warrants for fraud In Toronto, they could have driven him to his apartment after encountering him earlier in the evening, when he was allegedly drunk As with many sad stories, there will be no justice and no one will accept any responsibility
Mark Stilitz, Cardston, Alta

THE DEFENCE lawyer Jonathan Rosenthal, whom you quote as a source speculating about the "tragic encounter" between Michael Bryant and Darcy Allen Sheppard, has already acquitted Bryant via the media by stating that "if Sheppard's fingerprints are on the steering wheel, the case won't even proceed



to trial" How insensitive and presumptuous are we to assume that in every altercation between car and cyclist that the car driver can just take the law into his own hands and mow the offending cyclist down if he or she dares to touch the vehicle? Please let the justice system decide if Bryant could have prevented this tragic death
Dorothy Low, Richmond Hill, Ont

ACADEMIC CONFLICT

ENGINEERING is a discipline has a much more profound influence on our lives than most people realize By writing that "engineering solutions are behind everything from iPods and laptops to roads and bridges" ("Getting into the game," Universities, Sept 21), you further perpetuate the stereotypes of engineers as geeks or bridge builders Engineers also develop new drugs and drug delivery methods They develop ways to enrich foods to get crucial nutrients to people in Third World countries They develop materials for dentistry and for prosthetic limbs They even work with museum and art gallery curators to develop better ways to protect artifacts Engineering teaches its practitioners to look at things from a broader perspective, and sometimes even to take a leap of faith in trying to find a better way to do something Engineering is an applied science because engineers apply scientific knowledge to solve real world problems, and as we all know, real life doesn't have an instruction manual Engineers are the ones who try to make our world work
Penny Seymour, department of chemical engineering and applied chemistry University of Toronto, Toronto

YOU ATTRIBUTE the declining level of females in engineering programs in part to the lack of women in engineering faculties, but perhaps the problem lies with the engineering students themselves Last year I started my first year of engineering after reading about how women engineers were needed, and I thought the program would be a great fit for me I began to have my doubts after the first week, when I had to deal with constant sexual harassment from the upper year students who were running orientation activities. I had female genitalia drawn on my shirt, and there was so much crude and demeaning talk about women that I strongly considered dropping out of engineering before ever stepping foot in a classroom. I did talk to the dean of my program and one of the faculty. Some of the students involved were spoken to, so they are aware someone 'blew the whistle" on them Even though I exposed what was going on, and was assured it would never happen again, I saw many of the same things going on this year during the orientation events I've usually got a pretty thick skin, but this upset me so much I would have a hard time recommending the program to another female I couldn't see myself in a program with people who thought I was the punchline of a joke
Name withheld by request

COLLEGES COUNT

THE DEBATE about university reform and funding for research has raised some interesting ideas that should be part of a broader discussion the transformation of post-secondary education in Canada ("Reality check for a big idea," Universities, Sept 21). In Ontario, for example, college continues to be a popular option for university graduates who are looking to further their post-secondary education with more specific career focused training Unfortunately, there are bureaucratic barriers in place that often prevent students from getting the ideal combination of university and college education This challenge could be addressed by establishing transparent systems for the transfer of completed post secondary credits between institutions, similar to what exists in British Columbia and Alberta Such a system would support a greater number of students looking to train for specific careers as part of their education. A comprehensive vision for higher education would also address apprenticeship reform, support for applied research, and a range of other issues With college admissions up over seven per cent this year in Ontario alone, and an ever-increasing need for a highly skilled workforce, it's time we realized that higher education reform isn't just a discussion for universities
Linda Franklin, President and CEO, Colleges Ontario, Toronto

THOSE WHO TEACH, CAN'T

THANK YOU for the article "Generation War" (Business, Sept 21), which sheds light on the joke of becoming a teacher—a career choice that is now synonymous with becoming broke and unemployed After moving to a new community where I started from scratch with a valuable education (B A Hons , B Ed, and a post-baccalaureate), I have been supply teaching for seven years and have been lucky to land several long-term occasional positions at a fantastic school I can only say that new teachers need to prepare for encountering "retirees to occasional" in the employment section of any school board website, along with the fact that being a family member, a friend, or someone with a long-term close connection seems to be a very handy tool to climbing into what your writer states as "a safe career choice " Having been able to move on and create a whole new career path within the past year, I look at my eight years of waiting for a teaching job as daydreaming. I now gracefully accept that supply teaching is the limit of where my B Ed and love for learning will take me
Leslie Pullen Sarnia, Ont.

POLITICAL CHALLENGE

I AGREE wholeheartedly with Andrew Coyne's lament for our nation's politics ("Do nothing, say nothing politics rule Ottawa," Opinion, Sept. 21) Who is to blame? We, the citizens of this country, must shake ourselves from the illusion that all we need to do is vote for the most self serving promise and hope that the future will somehow look after itself The reasons for our national government's deficit are irrelevant. What matters is the fact that we have accumulated a debt that needs to be paid, and we have to decide how to do that The choices are between more taxes, fewer services, or a combination of the two No new taxes and no service cuts is not just a fantasy, it is a lie Governments, both Liberal and Conservative, have been talking about "cutting the fat" for decades "Cutting the fat" is also a fantasy A pound of fat lost today always comes back with a vengeance and an extra pound tomorrow So get ready for more taxes It is time for us all to tighten our belts, set our priorities as a nation, and pay the piper
André Carrel, Terrace, B C.

IN MY YEARS of enjoying Andrew Coyne's columns, it has often struck me that rarely, if ever, does Coyne have anything nice to say about the people who walk the hallowed halls of Parliament Hill I challenge Coyne to compliment the work of one of our political parties or its elected representatives Surely some one over the years has won your admiration and respect? Surely your cynical outlook on our political system can rest for just one page?
Patrick Nelson, Toronto

STOP SWINE FLU

AMIDST TALK of vaccines and drugs, conspicuously absent from the interview with Dr Bonnie Henry about preparedness for the H1N1 virus (Interview, Sept 21) was any discussion of nutrients and vitamin supplements to naturally boost immunity to such pathogens Supplementation with vitamins C and D3 and the mineral zinc has been shown to provide powerful immune support without the risk of serious side effects experienced with vaccines and drugs
David McKegney, Lower Sackville, N S

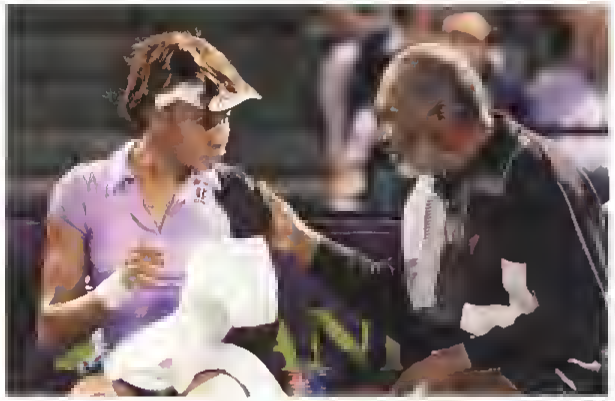
FIGHTING FOR FREE SPEECH

THE CANADIAN Human Rights Tribunal's recent ruling that Section 13 violates the Charter of Rights and Freedom's right to free expression because it carries the threat of punitive fines is a victory for those who value civil liberties, free speech and progressive politics ("It took a while but Section 13 is dead," Steyn, Sept 21) For too long those who have held dissenting or contrarian opin-



ions have been bullied and cowed by those who want to impose their own political agendas. Within this context, however, what are we to make of the Canadian Parliamentary Coalition to Combat Anti Semitism, which is currently holding hearings? This is clearly an attempt by the pro-Israel lobby to muzzle any legitimate political criticism of Israeli actions in the occupied territories by equating it with anti Semitism. Criticism of Israel would thus become a hate crime. But since when is political criticism of any country's policies an offence? Whatever happened to legitimate political debate? And since when are these vested interest groups allowed to delineate the scope of public discourse? These self appointed arbiters of the political truth are the true enemies of freedom

Richard Deaton, Ottawa



'RICHARD WILLIAMS is self-absorbed; it's scary reading about what kind of father he is'

CAMELOT NEVER WAS

YOU CALL the Kennedys 'America's most iconic dynasty" (The last of the Kennedys," World, Sept. 14). Jack was a foreign affairs disaster. Bobby was an arrogant twit. As for Teddy, anyone who spends 47 years in the Senate should be expected to produce 300 pieces of legislation. Beset by their own mediocrity and character flaws, the Kennedys were never going to produce another Lincoln. They left the political stage as empty as they found it. Never was so much expected by so many from so few—and never was so little realized.

Roy Weston, Burnaby, B.C.

RISKY BUSINESS

IN THE ARTICLE "Prostitutes overrun a Spanish icon" (World, Sept. 21), Rachel Mendleson writes "Exploitation of women is banned but prostitution itself is not." What am I missing here? I gather from this statement that either Mendleson or the Spanish government is implying that prostitution is not considered exploitation of women. I suppose this means that if a particular prostitute is not under the thumb of a pimp that she is not being exploited. What, then, would we call risking your life every time you jump into a john's car, or exposing yourself to every form of sexually transmitted disease? In Canada, we are occasionally accused of being puritanical in our approach to prostitution, as opposed to the "cool" European societies. In my opinion, it is not society's role to condone this type of activity by throwing up its hands. We must fight it with every means possible so that not a single woman has to resort to this type of behaviour.

Paul Brazeau, Ottawa

HEART ATTACK SAFE HAVEN

WRITING ABOUT the need for education about CPR at the municipal level ("The heart of the matter," Health, Sept. 14), you write that Seattle's "CPR friendly culture" stemmed from "an aggressive municipal scheme." This is true, but the force driving that scheme was the Boeing Company. Noticing a rising number of fatal heart attacks among engineers and skilled workers, Seattle's largest employer responded with enlightened corporate self interest by mandating CPR training for all employees. In 1980, I directed sequences for a CBC documentary, *Heart Attack: Prescription for Survival*. Our first location? A Boeing assembly plant in Seattle, said to be the safest place in North America in which to suffer a heart attack.

Robert Fripp, Toronto

BOUNDLESS ARROGANCE

PAUL WELLS is starting to question Canada's Afghan mission, but he should not lose heart ("It just keeps getting harder to believe in Afghanistan," Opinion, Sept. 14). Human arrogance knows no bounds. It was the arrogance of Western interests arming the Taliban to fight against the Soviet backed government of the day that has led to the Taliban's prominence today. It is the arrogance of Western assumptions that somehow our own flawed and easily corrupted system of so called democratic national governance is any better for a people who still embrace their tribal heritages. Is there really any doubt of our unrelenting ability to continue perpetuating this farce regardless of the harm it brings?

William Clegg, Gabriola Island, B.C.

WHO'S APATHETIC?

AS A POLITICALLY active student, I agree with many of the points made by Katherine Waddingham on the subject of youth interest in politics (Mail Bag, Sept. 21) but the sad fact is that Andrew Potter is quite correct in saying that many youth don't care about the people who have such control over their lives ("Generation gap? There's no such thing," Opinion, Sept. 7). It's not just youth political apathy is widespread. Canadians have always viewed politicians with a certain measure of cynicism, but I doubt they've ever viewed them with so much contempt. Stephen Harper's political strategy seems primarily to reflect his desire to stay in power for as long as possible. The other contenders are hardly preferable. It's pathetic that the needs and wants of the majority have become so secondary. Canadians have to remember that politics are up to us. And however depressing they are at the moment, they don't have to stay that way.

Julia Riddle, age 15, Guelph, Ont.

TENNIS DAD

SO RICHARD WILLIAMS, the driven father of two tennis stars (Interview, Sept. 7), claims that he knew two years before his eldest was born that his daughters were going to dominate tennis! This man is not only arrogant and self absorbed, but it's also scary reading what kind of father he was to his daughters. After the meltdown Serena had at the U.S. Open, it's not too hard to see where the anger comes from. I've totally lost what little respect I had for these two tennis machines.

Linda Cant, Rossland B.C.

We welcome readers to submit letters to either letters@macleans.ca or to Maclean's, *11th floor, One Mount Pleasant Road, Toronto, Ont. M4Y 2Y5. Please supply your name, address and daytime telephone number. Letters should be less than 300 words, and may be edited for space, style and clarity.*

ALAN DIAZ/CP

for
investment
approach,
see company name

The markets won't always be calm, so be sure the hand on the wheel is. Learn how we're changing investing at steadyhand.com

STEADYHAND

Who says
the world
is running
out of oil?

Western researchers are engineering new technology that converts agricultural waste into bio-oil – the essential building block of countless fuels, chemicals and plastic materials. As home to North America's first professional degree program in Green Process Engineering, Western is a leader in the development of renewable resources.

MAKE A DIFFERENCE

Learn more about Green Process Engineering, and how Western is supporting environmental management and a sustainable future.

The University of Western Ontario

westernmakesadifference.ca

Western



A WEEK IN THE LIFE OF NICOLAS SARKOZY

In a case that the French have dubbed the "trial of the century," current president Nicolas Sarkozy and former prime minister Dominique de Villepin faced off in a Paris courtroom on Monday. De Villepin is charged with instigating a smear campaign against Sarkozy in 2007, when Sarkozy was embroiled in French presidential elections (which he eventually won). The stakes are high for the former PM, who still holds ambitions to unseat Sarkozy as France's top elected official.

Good news

Revving up

Finally some good news for the troubled auto sector. Toyota announced this week it will spend $1 billion in advertising to boost sales in the U.S., which are off nearly 30 per cent. Investment bank Goldman Sachs plans to invest $250 million in the Chinese automaker Geely (money that could help it in its efforts to purchase Volvo from Ford), and even GM is opening its purse strings, offering a 60-day money-back guarantee and rescinding white-collar pay cuts. With sales growing again in both Canada and the U.S., it looks like the auto industry is on the way back. Now maybe we should talk about a repayment schedule for all that bailout money.

Olympic advantage

It has long been an Olympic tradition that home-country athletes enjoy extra practice time at the venues that will be used for upcoming Games. The U.S. employed that strategy prior to the 2002 Winter Olympics in Salt Lake City (where Americans took home 34 medals—17 more than Canada). But some American and international athletes are now publicly grumbling that our athletes are getting unfair extra time at facilities in Vancouver and Whistler. We hope Canadian officials stand fast. Remember, nice guys finish last, and we had more than enough of that at the Calgary Games.

Who's watching who?

The Net just got a little less creepy. Facebook has agreed to shutter its Beacon program, after users of the popular social networking site complained their privacy was being compromised. Beacon tracked Facebook purchasing activities at partnering e-tailers—so, for example, you could see items that your friends recently bought online (possibly as a surprise present for you). But don't let your guard down yet. Facebook has also announced it's teaming up with the Nielsen Co. to add polls to Facebook pages. The two companies expect to glean precious marketing data, which will then be sold to third-party companies looking to make money online. On the Web, someone is always watching.

Bad news

Body bag brouhaha

All hell broke loose when stories surfaced that Manitoba's Wasagamack First Nation had received a surprise shipment of body bags from the federal government. The Health Department said they were part of a routine shipment to help the remote community prepare for the winter—not, as native leaders charged, a racist kiss-off to a community trying to cope with H1N1. Health Minister Leona Aglukkaq has apologized for any misunderstanding, but both sides should consider this: if a pandemic strikes—in northern Manitoba or anywhere else—public health officials must be ready to send in whatever they deem necessary, without worrying about causing offence.

Alzheimer's fears

A new report projects that incidences of dementia will double every 20 years, and that the condition will affect 115 million by 2050. According to the 2009 World Alzheimer Report, developing countries where life expectancy is rising should expect to be hit hardest—people in those countries will soon be living long enough to become victims of the disease. There is hope, though: 30 minutes of exercise every day can reduce your risk of developing dementia by as much as 35 per cent.

Fast democracy

Everyone gets a vote: that is a basic pillar of democracy. But the UN-backed Election Complaints Commission, tasked with investigating and correcting fraud in Afghanistan's recent election, has decided to recount only a sample of votes from the 3,000 polling stations that reported irregularities. The decision is intended to speed up the process of recounting in Afghanistan—and the commission claims the sample will provide an accurate picture of all the votes in question. That may be true, but as their nascent democracy struggles to survive, it is unfortunate that some Afghans will be denied a voice out of expedience.

Track and field fixers

A race-fixing scandal has the world of motorsports reeling. Last year, Renault's Formula One racing team ordered one of its drivers, Nelson Piquet Jr., to deliberately crash during the Singapore Grand Prix so that his teammate, Fernando Alonso, would win the race. Last week, F1's governing body put Renault on probation through 2011. As if that weren't enough to shake the confidence of sports fans, another match-fixing scandal rocked the world of lawn bowling this week, when Canada accused New Zealand of throwing a match against Thailand during last month's Asia Pacific championships. Cheating is unconscionable, at any speed. M

FACE OF THE WEEK



AN UNIDENTIFIED SOLDIER salutes the casket of Pte. Jonathan Couturier, who died from an IED blast southwest of Kandahar

FRED THORNHILL/REUTERS

THIS WEEK

NEWSMAKERS

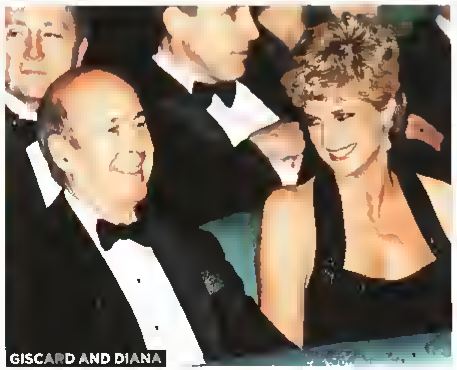
The Zalm returns

Neither age nor scandal has slowed the ebullient former B.C. premier **Bill Vander Zalm**. The Zalm, looking a decade younger than his 75 years, has emerged from obscurity as a potent political force in the fight against B.C. Premier **Gordon Campbell**'s decision to implement a harmonized sales tax, or HST. Combining provincial and federal sales taxes is good for business, but it adds to the cost of everything from restaurant meals to new homes, which were exempt from provincial tax. Vander Zalm, who resigned in 1991 after mixing public and private business in the sale of his Fantasy Gardens theme park, pounced on the HST issue well before NDP Opposition Leader **Carole James**. He upstaged her again last Saturday as they both spoke at an anti-HST rally in Vancouver. He called it a "cruel tax" that piles extra costs on consumers, "particularly those who ate packing the lunch bucket." With his typical "Faaantasstic" grasp of facts, he estimated the crowd at 4,000 to 5,000 people. More dispassionate estimates put the number at 1,000 to 2,000, still enough to worry Campbell's Liberals.


BILL VANDER ZALM

French kiss (and tell)

The French have long had a don't-ask-don't-tell attitude toward the bedroom antics of their ruling political class, a position abetted by the country's strict privacy laws. So imagine the stir now that former president **Valery Giscard d'Estaing** has written a novel of a French president's affair with a character based on a thinly disguised **Princess Diana**. *The Princess and the President*, to be published in French on Oct. 1, tells the "fictional" tale of a president and "Princess Patricia of Catcliff," thrown together at a G7 economic summit—not a known aphrodisiac. She is devastated by her husband's adultery with a woman suspiciously like **Prince Charles**'s squeeze, **Camilla Parker Bowles**. Giscard's presidency ended in 1981, the year of her marriage to Charles, but the two met many times both before and after her divorce. "I kissed her hand and she gave me a questioning look, her slate grey eyes widening as she tilted her head gently forward," he writes. Whether this is fact, or an 83-year-old's Viagra-fuelled fantasy, is unclear. A gentleman never tells, but this one certainly hints.


GISCARD AND DIANA

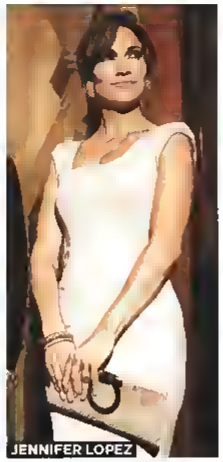
Queen of the typing pool, king of Otuam

There's a movie in this. **Peggielene Bartels**, 55, a secretary at the Ghanaian embassy in Washington, is awakened by an overseas phone call. She is informed of the death of her uncle, the 90-year-old king of Otuam, a Ghanaian town of 7,000. Far more shocking, she is told she is the new king. "Oh, please, don't play games with me," she replied. But it was no joke, though the selection process is more creative than that of a typical monarchy. It involved the elders praying, and pouring schnapps on the ground while awaiting a telltale puff of steam as the names of 25 potential leaders were recited. Bartels went from driving a 1992 Honda to arriving at her coronation to find a driver, a chef and an eight-bedroom palace, the *Washington Post* reports. For now, she's a part-time king, prudently keeping her D.C. secretarial job until retirement. She's served notice to the all-male elders, though, that this king is not for crossing. "If you step on my toes," she warned, "I will hit you where it hurts."


PEGGIELENE BARTELS

Still kicking

Beckham Inc., that profitable pairing of soccer star **David** and his fashionista wife, **Victoria** (the former Posh Spice), is having a particularly productive summer. Though many think David's best playing days are behind him, he put the boots to Toronto FC in soccer action last Saturday, contributing both a goal and an assist in the Los Angeles Galaxy's 2-0 win. And Posh? The ex-Spice Girl has reinvented herself as a fashion designer. Last week in New York, she unveiled her third season to near universal approval from a press that has not always been kind to the Thin One. "So accomplished was the cut, so deftly chosen was the fabric and so masterful the execution that it was hard to believe this was the work of a novice," went a typical gush from London's *Evening Standard*. In fact, the curvaceous **Jennifer Lopez** poured herself into a Beckham last week for a meeting with the U.S. Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute. The fashion press declared her "stunning." As for the substance of the meeting, who knows?


JENNIFER LOPEZ

Bush league

It was tails and tales aplenty last week for new Dallas resident and former president **George W. Bush**. On Sunday, accompanied by his wife, **Laura**, Bush gave the coin toss (tails) for the Dallas Cowboys at the home opener in the team's new $1.2-billion stadium. Its problematic giant video scoreboard, barely 27 m above the playing surface, has already inspired a new NFL rule—a replay of the down if punted balls hit the board. If presidents had do-overs, would Bush still have hired **Matt Latimer** as a speech writer? Latimer's new book, *Speech Less: Tales of a White House Survivor*, dishes on Bush's catty assessment of Washington power players. Of **Joe Biden**, now vice-president: "If bulls--t was currency, Joe Biden would be a billionaire." On then-Alaska governor **Sarah Palin**'s run for the vice presidency: "This woman is being put into a position she is not even remotely prepared for." Of then-presidential candidate **Barack Obama**: "This is a dangerous world, that cat isn't remotely qualified to handle it." Of his own abilities, lest there be any doubt: "I was qualified."


LEONARD COHEN

She Wolfe

Some facts aren't in dispute. **Ashley Wolfe**, 24, of Vancouver is five foot three and 123 lb. Last December, Ashley—now known as "Glambo" to the British press—wore a "striking" floor-length red satin gown while she and husband **William**—both self-defence instructors—attended a boisterous barracks party in London for sergeants and officers of Britain's Coldstream Guards, who will soon deploy to Afghanistan. There was a fight and Ashley knocked down at least one soldier and knocked out Sgt. **Michael Fallows** with a single left hook. Beyond that there are conflicting accounts. A London court, which found her guilty in absentia of common assault, accepted the army's version: the male soldiers were dancing together, pretending to be gay, and Wolfe took offence—and in the words of the *Sun* newspaper, "went on a rampage, knocking over burly soldiers from the elite regiment like skittles." The Wolfes say the drunken soldiers tried to drag Ashley into the grinding male mass on the dance floor, and she resisted, forcefully. William said he and his wife were in Hungary, and couldn't defend themselves at trial because she had the flu and wasn't allowed to fly. As for his wife's punch, he says: "It was beautiful. Down he went, unconscious."


LINDA AND VINCE McMAHON

Ladies' man returns

Canadian poet, singer and septuagenarian heartthrob **Leonard Cohen** was midway through *Bird on the Wire* in Valencia, Spain last Friday when he toppled over on stage. "Like a drunk in a midnight choir," to quote his song's lyrics. Fortunately, it was neither demon rum or a faulty ticker that cause his collapse. Food poisoning is blamed for his faint, and, just days later, the 75-year-old was set to resume his tour. Later this week he courts controversy with a concert in Tel Aviv, which is opposed by Palestinian rights groups.

Life is a highway

Raynald Bouthillier's transport truck is, quite literally, a moving tribute to his late son Jack, and to all fellow soldiers killed in the Afghan war. Trooper **Jack Bouthillier** of the Royal Canadian Dragoons spent just three weeks in the country on his first tour of duty before he was killed by a roadside bomb on March 20. The blast also killed Trooper Corey Hayes and injured three others. Raynald, a trucker from Hearst, Ont., has decorated his transport with photos celebrating the life of his fun-loving soldier son. He said he and his wife were initially opposed to Jack joining the army but supported him wholeheartedly when it was clear he would not change his mind. "By doing this we are honouring his memory, we are honouring the choice he made." On the back of the truck's cab he has listed the names of the Canadians who have died in the Afghan mission—131 so far. He has left room for more. "Every one of them, until the war in Afghanistan is done," he says.


Fallen Heroes
RAYNALD BOUTHILLIER'S MEMORIAL TRUCK

Senate smackdown

Linda McMahon, CEO of World Wrestling Entertainment, is resigning to enter a forum where dirty tricks, false outrage and unseemly acts of revenge are a daily occurrence. She's taking a run for the U.S. Senate. The 60-year-old Republican means to crush, stomp and otherwise defeat incumbent Democrat **Christopher Dodd** of Connecticut. McMahon declared that Washington is "out of control." Critics suggest when it comes to mayhem she is indeed expert. First, she must overcome perceptions about her sport. For instance, a Los Angeles radio host has already suggested a campaign sticker: "If you're dumb enough to watch wrestling, you might be dumb enough to vote for me."

Thee-o, Thee-o!

He's too old, too short, and he's got more history than the Roman Empire. Yet **Theo Fleury** is making life tough for the Calgary Flames coaching staff. Six years after retiring, he's mounting an unlikely comeback attempt, after resolving his addiction issues and establishing a career in the Calgary development industry. The legs are slower but the mouth works fine, and he still has the hands of a goal scorer. Added to that, the hometown fans love him to bits. The odds of making it past the exhibition season and onto the roster are near insurmountable, but Fleury won't be an easy cut. "You could be away 20 years and it still comes back to you," he says. "Like riding a bike." M


THEO FLEURY

KIM STALLKNECHT/CP; CHIP SOMODEVILLA/GETTY
BILL O'LEARY/CP; JOHN SCHULTZ/REUTERS
MARIEVE GIGOUX/CP; LARRY MACDOUGAL/CP
ETHAN MILLER/GETTY; LUKE MACGREGOR/REUTERS

By Definition, An Accord Is A Compromise.

But **THE CHEVROLET MALIBU** sets itself apart. It's the winner of the 2009 Consumer Digest Best Buy Award. With a 5.9L/100km hwy rating, it has better highway fuel efficiency than both Honda Accord and Toyota Camry.* Plus the best coverage in Canada – 5 Year/160,000km powertrain component warranty including roadside assistance and courtesy transportation.Δ And if you don't love it, our 60-Day Satisfaction Guarantee lets you bring it back.‡ Put us to the test against anyone. And may the best car win. Visit chevrolet.gm.ca



Chevrolet Malibu

CHEVROLET

MAY THE BEST CAR WIN.

Vancouver 2010

CHEVROLET
OFFICIAL VEHICLE



ELTON JOHN kissas baby Lav at an orphanaga for HIV-positiva children in Ukraina

When this baby finds out later...



BARBARA AMIEL

If you will forgive the awful image this conjures, I've been trying to put myself into the diapers of a 14-month old child in an east European orphanage. Is this the worst situation I could be in? Being abandoned in Somalia is probably worse. But let's concentrate on the baby with parents MIA in lands east of the Oder-Neisse line.

This little person has worked out that smiles and gurgles give him a good chance of being picked up, so he is gurgling at this nice stocky man with funny glasses who, wonder of wonders, wants to adopt him. Even though he's already 14 months old and past prime adoption age. Even though chances are he's HIV positive. Even better, the nice man has oodles of money. This is too good to be true.

Which guarantees it is not true and is a dream about to be noisily squelched, as it was last week by Yuriy Pavlenko, the minister of family, youth and sports in Ukraine, where our little orphan resides. Pavlenko says Elton John can't adopt one of his country's fabulous, in-demand HIV orphs because he is too old (62) and is married to another man, a union not yet appreciated by the good people of Ukraine. So, for your own sake, little Lev (that is the name of our orphan), Elton John and spouse, David Furnish, will not be allowed to give you a gorgeous forever home in Berkshire. I think we can all be fairly certain that when little Lev grows into big Lev and fully appreciates this decision made for his very own good, he will come after Yuri and his cohorts with homicide in his heart. I would.

The specific circuitry of the Ukrainian mind is not familiar to me, but there are certain eternal verities in this story. Little Lev is a part of that phenomenon known as the *besprizornost*, the children of the former Soviet empire who have either lost, or been dumped by, their parents. They've been called, *inter alia*, vermin, hooligans, foundlings and "waifs in drab tatters," but the long and short of it is that they are stuck in orphanages. Sometimes they are not on the adoption list, as little Lev is said not to be, since his HIV-positive mother hasn't decided what to do with him. This unhappy, unholy mass of *besprizornost* continues in the post-Soviet years as HIV rates skyrocket and newly independent states flounder in economic disarray.

If the Ukrainian bureaucrats are hung up on rules (adopt little Lev and you have to adopt his brother), or are simply homophobic or lean more toward Christian evangelicalism than is fashionable in the West, so be it. They will have to answer to Ukrainian society where the *besprizornost* have a high rate of turning into criminals. My beef is with the chattering classes of the West, who have taken up the Ukrainian decision with delight.

"Elton John, forget children and adopt a cat" was the front page slash of the *Daily Telegraph*. Inside, writer Andrew Pierce dismisses John as an unsuitable parent because of his tantrums and late conversion to fatherhood. Pierce gives his own credentials, as a gay man himself and one who spent two years in a British orphanage after his mother attempted to escape the "harsh moral climate that was sixties Britain." Well, we can all pull that one off: two years in a '60s British orphanage bears about as much resemblance to the world of a Ukrainian AIDS orphan as my experience as a ward of the court in harsh postwar 1940s Britain does. Zero.

In the *Spectator*, columnist Rod Liddle allows for the possibility that John may have been motivated by the "most charitable impulses when his eyes fell upon baby Lev," but finds the impulse sickening. Along with some digs at John's being seen stuffing Tom Ford's new perfume Black Orchid Voile de Fleur, which Liddle tells us was described by some critics (one?) as having the subtle aroma of a man's crotch—imagine the cartwheels when that aperçu surfaced in the research—he criticizes John's impulse as merely a "lifestyle choice," like a nicely crafted but from Prada. Then throwing in Angelina and Madonna, he underlines how children as "lifestyle choices" are society's big problem.

I have no idea what this means anymore. At least 50 per cent of births, abortions and C sections are lifestyle choices. Little Lev's present address is a lifestyle choice of his parents. One could swallow this muck if Liddle or Pierce were prepared to adopt Lev themselves. But this is just a column and, once written, chances are they won't pay the slightest attention to the child.

Writing about people you don't know and embodying your own opinions in them is a breeze. "It is hard to imagine an environment less suited to the rearing of children than that inhabited by Sir Elton John and David Furnish," opines Liddle, whose notion of the Elton John environment is that of the outsider with nose pressed hard against Google. Writing about people you do know is so much more awkward: you've got the obstacle of reality in the path of your Pegasus, making it harder for the old horse to soar.

I do know John and his spouse Furnish: they'd be fine parents, if obsessive about clean hands and behind the ears. Perhaps Elton and David might subcontract some of Lev's bringing up to a team of nannies and educationists, but I expect they'd do a far better job of vetting experts in child-rearing than the Ukrainian orphanage. And while I've never asked him, I rather think Elton would delight in a rousingly heterosexual son.

Refusing to allow an adoption from an orphanage to anyone short of Jack the Ripper and child molesters is fundamentally wrong and is redeemed only by the objector being willing to adopt the orphan themselves. That is a moral imperative. Little Lev lives with the consequence of it not being followed. M

barbara.amiel@maclaans.rogers.com

Michael Ignatieff's weighty autumn



PAUL WELLS

"I stand between you and your dinner," Michael Ignatieff told a crowd gathered for lunch, which is sort of like dinner, at the Toronto Hilton. "And you're going to be a little hungrier by the time I get through."

Ah. This was the Liberal leader explaining the effect of his own presence. It's the same Michael Ignatieff who likes to punctuate his remarks with asides like, "You know, I'm a pragmatic fellow." He is an illuminated manuscript come to life, or at least partway. He began with this warning about the still-distant meal, whichever one it might be, because he planned to give us a "more substantive" speech than the audience might be used to.

The Liberal leader is having a substantive autumn. Several days before this he delivered a speech his factotums advertised as being about "Canada in the world" where we've been, where we are and where we're going." Today his theme was the economy. "What Canada's been through, the challenges we're facing, and where we should be going." You know, he's a weighty fellow.

The challenge for Ignatieff since he moved to Toronto from Massachussetts in 2004 has been how to position himself. Is he regular folks? When I interviewed him in 2006 he was busy droppin' his g's from every gerund and ever lovin' participle. He has since decided that won't work. Small mercies. Now he takes the long view, thinks the big thought, interposes himself between lunch crowds and their dinner with only the weight of his cogitation to hold back the tide.

Somewhere in the office of the leader of the Opposition, I feel sure, there is a DVD of season three of *The West Wing*. Toby Ziegler's chess match with president Bartlett has received repeated viewings. Ziegler tells his boss how to win against a populist challenger. "You're not 'just folks,'" he says. "You're not plain-spoken. Do not, do not, *do not* act like it."

Somewhere in the office of the leader of the Opposition, I feel sure, there is a DVD of season three of *The West Wing*

Bartlett protests. "I don't wanna be killed."

Ziegler. "Then make this election about smart, and not. Make it about engaged, and not. Qualified, and not. Make it about heavyweight. You're a heavyweight. And you've been holding me up for too many rounds." And Ziegler knocks down his own beleaguered king, because this guy Bartlett, he *cannot be beaten* at chess.

God, I love that scene.

Anyway, here was Ignatieff on the economy. He was here to be substantive. But only up to a point. Those Conservatives have been fudging the numbers. When he gets elected Ignatieff will "open the books" and figure out what the budget balance really is. Only then will he come up with a financial plan. "We won't make decisions without numbers we can trust."

The decisions he makes, after we elect him, will form "a balanced plan," winding down stimulus spending neither too quickly nor too slowly. "We will balance the books without making the most vulnerable pay the price," he said. But even then, "expenditure control alone can't dig us out of the mess Mr. Harper has left us with."

What's left? Michael Ignatieff's Secret Plan to Raise Your Taxes Forever is what. Just kidding, although I suspect I've just foreshadowed the Conservative campaign to come. Ignatieff's speech included a lengthy defence of the very idea of taxation, rebutting a remark Harper made to the effect that no taxes are good taxes. "It's an astonishing statement for a prime minister to make," Ignatieff said. "We pay taxes, Mr. Harper, so that premature infants get nursing care when they're born. So that policemen will be there to keep our streets safe." So if taxes are legitimate, are more taxes better? No sir or madam, a Liberal government will "keep our tax rates competitive."

No, what's missing, after "spending control" that won't feel like cuts, and taxes that are good but won't rise, is *magic beans*. I mean growth. Special growth. "Growth beyond recovery." A plan to "hit the ground running—fast—once we climb out." Special growth comes from "standing up for Canadian entrepreneurs," "investing in the Canadian people" and "going where the growth is." India and China? "India and China."

There followed a bunch of shaky statistics. The Conservatives "have actually cut funding to our research councils." No. The research councils' budgets are larger today than when the Conservatives were elected. "Under Stephen Harper, where do you think we rank, out of 30 leading economies, in terms of labour productivity growth?" I don't know, 26th? "Twenty-sixth. Twenty-sixth out of 30." Sure, but the dozen or so Canadians who know what labour productivity growth is will know Ignatieff got his factoid from the Council of Canadian Academies—which points out that productivity has lagged for decades, regardless of the party in power.

Ignatieff promised "strong policies on climate change" without waiting for the Americans. "We will create a national carbon cap-and-trade system with absolute targets. In that manner, we will enter the United Nations conference on climate change in Copenhagen with our head held high." This establishes a timeline. If the election campaign began next week, voting day would be at the beginning of November, which would give the new Ignatieff government six weeks to design its cap-and-trade system before Copenhagen. That's ambitious. Probably opening the Conservatives' fudge-encrusted books and concocting an economic plan would have to come after that.

With that, the Liberal leader let the lunch crowd get down to dinner. His Bartlett campaign—engaged, qualified and heavyweight—lay ahead. M

ON THE WEB: For more Paul Wells, visit his blog at **www.maclaans.ca/inklesswells**

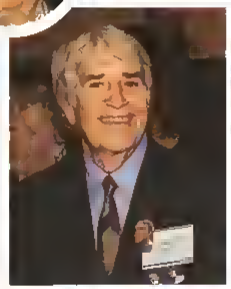
MITCHEL RAPHAEL ON WHY CAROLINE MULRONEY GAVE THE SPEECH AND THE LAUGHING TRANSLATORS

WHAT'S ELSIE WAYNE DOING UP THERE?

Former prime minister **Brian Mulroney**'s big bash in the ballroom of Montreal's Sheraton Hotel marked the 25th anniversary of his 1984 victory, the first of his back-to-back majorities. **Caroline Mulroney** introduced her father. When a guest asked how it was decided which child would do the introduction, **Ben Mulroney** said that his mother, **Mila Mulroney**, chose and that was that. Brian Mulroney spoke in front of a huge Canadian flag, his image was projected on giant screens that made the red behind him look like NDP orange. The former PM took the time to thank **Laureen Harper** for attending. She stood and blew him a kiss with both hands. (**Stephen Harper** sent video greetings.) Mrs. Harper was seated in the VIP section next to Transport Minister **John Baird**, who was beside the former PM's brother **Gary Mulroney**. In 1984, Baird was a volunteer messenger at the national Progressive Conservative headquarters and helped deliver mail. "My cubicle was across from [now Senate leader] **Marjory LeBreton**'s," he said. The event was packed with Conservatives, including Environment Minister **Jim Prentice**, who did some advance grunt work for Mulroney back in 1984. **Pierre Poilievre** was only five years old in 1984. "I remember my father sat me down in front of the television to watch the debate," says the Tory Ottawa MP. "I told that story to **Ed Broadbent** [who was in the debate] and Ed said, 'I must have done a pretty poor job if you turned out to be a Conservative.'" Tory Senator **Hugh Segal** recalled how important that debate was for the Mulroney landslide. According to him, the days of interesting leader debates on TV are over. Now they are "tedious, boring," he says. "Any one with a life would turn it off." Segal still talks to Mulroney, who calls Segal "Hugh." The senator calls Mulroney "Prime Minister." Mulroney cabinet minister **Barbara McDougall**, who was also at the bash, noted, "I called him prime minister for a long, long time [after]." Now she calls him "Brian." "We were having lunch one day and it just kinda slipped out." Finance Minister **Jim Flaherty** brought his son **Galen Flaherty**, who just started at McGill University and made it onto the football team. **Maxime Bernier** was with his father, **Gilles Bernier**, who served as an MP under Mulroney. MPs who received some of Mulroney's famous phone calls were also there. **Rona Ambrose** said that when she was environment minister and just about to go into the House to introduce the Clean Air Act, she got a call from Mulroney, who was in London at the time. During their conversation, he recounted his struggles with the acid rain treaty. When he became the leader of the Canadian Alliance, **Stockwell Day** said Mulroney called and they shared a meal at which the former PM said if he ever needed help to call him. Former Progressive Conservative MP **Elsie Wayne** (she and **Jean Charest**, now the Quebec premier, were the only PCs elected after the Tories hit near extinction in 1993) got tired of standing early in the evening. The 77-year old boldly went for a seat in the VIP section. This left no room for Mila Mulroney. Another chair was quickly added. When Mulroney's speech ended and his entire family joined him on stage, Wayne just sauntered up along with them.













BRIAN MULRONEY (top right) with Defence Minister Peter MacKay, Gary Mulroney (middle left), John Baird and Laureen Harper (middle right), Caroline and Mila Mulroney (lower left), Barbara McDougall (lower right), (circle inset) Elsie Wayne

DID THE PM REALLY JUST SAY THAT?

An NDP MP notes that when Stephen Harper says the word "election" in French it sounds almost as if he's saying "erection." With all the recent talk of an election, the word gets used a lot in the House. The first week back the PM came "as close as he has ever got ten to saying *érection*," says the NDPer. This time even the translators in the House were chuckling. When the slip happened in reference to why a fall "election" was a bad thing, one Bloc MP was overheard quipping, "Hey, there's no such thing as a bad erection." M

ON THE WEB: For more Ottawa outtakes or to contact Mitchel Raphael, visit **macleans.ca/mitchelraphael**

PHOTOGRAPHS BY MITCHEL RAPHAEL

POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE

SUNDAYS ON CPAC



10:30 AM ET/7:30 AM PT
8 PM ET/5 PM PT
THE NANOS REPORT
with Nik Nanos
A weekly look at polls, trends and the battle for public opinion

11 AM ET/8 AM PT
THE WEEK
with Mark Sutcliffe
National call-in on the week in politics.

7 PM ET/4 PM PT
GOLDHAWK LIVE
with Dale Goldhawk
Pundits and the public in open-line discussion

8:30 PM ET/5:30 PM PT
ON THE BRIGHT SIDE
with Puneet Bhgi, Heather Seaman and Glen McInnis
Showcasing the behind-the-scenes cooperation of Canada's elected officials.

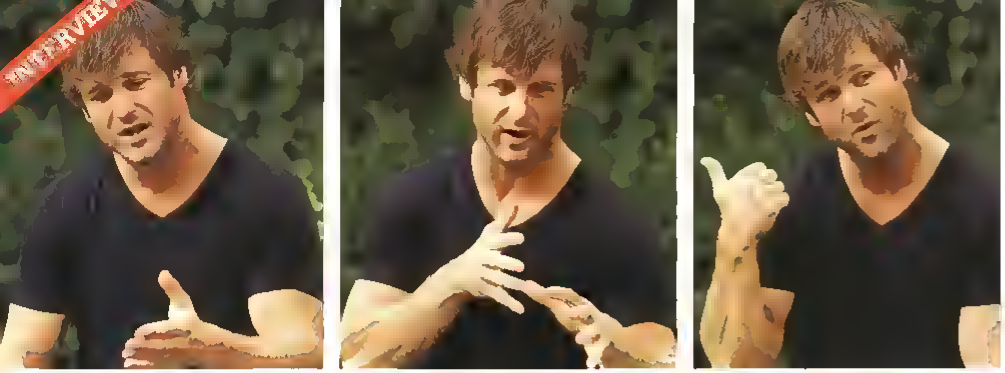
9 PM ET/6 PM PT
BEYOND POLITICS
with Catherine Clark
Personal conversations with MPs.

BROUGHT TO YOU BY CPAC'S OWNERS

ROGERS SHAW VIDEOTRON A Quebecor Media Company
ACCESS COGECO EASTLINK

cpac
created by cable for canadians

CPAC.ca



Big cat expert **Dave Salmoni** on living with 'problem lions,' rehabilitating them, and how to fend off an attack if one has you in its jaws

A CONVERSATION WITH JONATHON GATEHOUSE

*Dave Salmoni is a Canadian who has found international fame as the hands on host of shows about animal attacks and rogue predators for the Discovery Channel and Animal Planet. For his latest project—*Into the Pride*—he spent six months living with a group of "problem lions" in the African bush. The show has its Canadian premiere Oct. 5 on Animal Planet.*

Q: *How does a kid from Sarnia, Ont., end up as a large predator expert?*

A: Mostly by mistake. Animals were always an interest. I was one of those kids, when I had to give a speech or do a project, it was always about animals. But I grew up in a pretty standard home on a cul-de-sac, not the circus, so I never thought of it as a career. When I went to university at Laurentian, I chose biology because I was still interested in animals. The biology department there was small enough that you actually got to do stuff—go out into the wild and interact with nature. I did my undergraduate thesis on black bears. But toward the end of my degree, I noticed that I was spending a lot more time on my laptop than with animals. So I thought I could go to a zoo and have the best of both worlds—the research and working with animals. I went to the Bowmanville zoo as a researcher, although I mostly got hired because I was a big, 220 lb. bouncer guy and the owner thought I could pick up a lot of s--t. As a small zoo, most of their money comes from animal training. And I really bought into that.

Q: *For the new show you spent six months living with a pride of problem lions on a private Namibian game reserve. What made these guys rogues exactly?*

A: These guys were born in the wild, in a national park that is saturated with lions. And with the poverty in Namibia they don't have the kind of fences needed to keep them in. Unfortunately, on the outskirts of this park there are a lot of small villages and cattle farmers. These animals were escaping or being pushed out of the park and becoming cattle raiders, potential man-eaters. The management technique in Namibia is to kill the problem lions so there isn't a war between the villagers and the animals. But there's a gentleman there who owns a 75,000 hectare reserve and he wanted lions. I was doing a show, *Rogue Nature*, where we helped with the relocation of the lions to this guy's park. A year later he calls me up and says, "Dude, you said these guys would calm down and they haven't. They're going to kill my staff." And that spawned this project.

Q: *You trained for months at the gym and worked with lions in preparation for a possible attack. How does one fight off a lion?*

A: Basically, I looked at a lot of film with my personal trainer and showed him how a lion would attack me, and asked him to help me build those muscles. He trains army guys and firefighters and policemen, so he got it that if we screwed up in the gym, I might die. He took it as seriously as I did. I barfed every single time I worked out with him. And when I worked at Bowmanville—the owner is one of the best cat trainers in the world—he put me in situations to teach me how to fend off an attack, how to gag a lion with a wooden crook and stop them coming forward, or if they are on top of you, the little skin fold in their lip where you can put your finger, and stop them from biting you. Over the years now, I've probably had a few hundred fights with captive lions, or good play wrestling, where you practise that gag, or block their teeth and learn the techniques.

Q: *But what specific exercises can you do in the gym?*

A: All of my stuff is compound movement—training your core, and for power in your legs. Reverse lunges, twists, squats and presses. Three or four different movements in a row. And pushing yourself mentally, so that you can tell your body when it's exhausted that there's more in there. I'd be on the ground, ready to pass out, and he'd say, okay, 50 push-ups. In a fight with a lion all I want to do is stay alive. I'm training for survival, buying seconds. I always go into the bush with a safety crew, and a paramedic. They all have things they are going to do in the case of an attack.

Q: *And you've been attacked before?*

A: Yes, right here in Toronto.

Q: *What happened?*

A: I was in my first year of lion training and doing a live show at Canada's Wonderland. The lion was getting possessive over something and I was challenging him, letting him charge and then rewarding him off the object—something I'd done before a number of times and was confident about. And on the third charge, he caught me in the rib cage, because I ran out of room on the stage.

Q: *This was in front of an audience?*

A: Yeah, 6,500 people. And he realized he got me, that I was breathing funny, and a predator sees that as an opportunity. So the next charge, he went for my throat and all I could do was block it with my forearm. He was trying to drag me down to the ground, so I tore my arm out of his mouth and all of the muscles just kind of flopped out. But you still have a lion that wants to kill you, so I wrapped it up with a sweat towel and gaffer tape and went back to work. For about 40 minutes.

Q: *On the blog you kept during filming of this show, you talked about having panic attacks when you were out in the tent, all alone at night in the middle of the reserve. Did they stem from that attack?*

A: No, I don't think so. I'd never had one before. I didn't even know what they were. Fear has always been a pretty foreign experience to me. But that first night in the bush—all of a sudden it was like, man, you're going to die if you screw up. I was 20 km or more from anyone, and these two lions I didn't know were walking around four metres from my tent. All that confidence I had went away. It was "Oh my God, what have I done?"

Q: *You've described this show as a personal journey. What were you trying to prove?*

A: I was trying to figure out my identity in a weird way. We all fall into traps where we have to define ourselves. When I was younger, I was the animal guy, the bush guy, the free thinker who didn't follow the rules. I thought I was still that guy, but I hadn't tested it in some time because my career had taken me into boutique hotels and red carpets. Could I give it all away and have nothing but my passion? I wanted to figure it out for myself. I've been telling people that it was a mid-life crisis, although at 33, I'm younger than when most people have them. But it makes sense to me, I deal with my own mortality a lot more than most people do.

Q: *And did you prove all that?*

A: Yes. The most important thing I found was that I didn't have to define myself. I can go to a network premiere party and be surrounded by 500 people who want my autograph and be flattered and not panic. And the next day you can throw me in a tent for six months and it's awesome.

Q: *You've also talked about this being a matter of faith. How?*

A: As I say in the first episode of the show, I'm not in this to push my religion on anybody. But as a scientist, I find a lot of proof that there is some maker out there. And before I get nose to nose with an animal, I need all of my zoological background, the physical training, but I also need that belief that God will give me a little hand out there. That's where I find my comfort.

Q: *So you're Daniel?*

A: Exactly. God has totally told lions not to eat people before. If he would do that again for me, I'd be happy.

Q: *You made some choices for the show—spending the nights alone in the tent, approaching the lions on foot—that would strike most people as foolhardy. Why do it that way?*

A: Part of it was that personal journey. I could have easily stayed in the lodge with the crew, but safety wasn't my issue. Walking on foot with the lions, I needed to push those cats to a point where no one else would. Those cats will never have to go through what I put them through again. We were trying to protect the people that are working at the reserve and the eco-tourists. If someone hops out of a car and starts changing a flat tire, those lions know how to handle that now. Those lions are no longer scared of people. They are unfazed by human contact, and that's the way it needs to be.

Q: *Was there a point over those six months where you thought things were spinning out of control?*

A: Definitely. I took a break to fly home for my sister's wedding last August. But just prior to that, I was ready to give up. I had tried all the things that had worked for me in the past in integrating with lions, and nothing was working. They were escalating their behaviour, and there were a couple of times where I felt I was really getting close to being killed. And I don't have a death wish. Loneliness, compounded with failure, and I knew that every single day I was pissing these cats off. So I called the network when I was home and said there's one or two more things I can try, but I may have to pull the pin. The only thing that kept me going was I knew that, if I left, those cats were going to die.

Q: *With the trend in animal shows like this—the Steve Irwins, the Austin Stevenses—isn't there pressure to get yourself into dangerous situations?*

A: I would have agreed with you a year or two ago, there was a crazy trend, the wow factor. But I think the networks don't want that anymore. Since Steve's death, no animal guy has had that kind of acclaim. I think those were his viewers. My viewers want to go on the journey with you, and learn something different. The danger stuff is just to catch your attention.

Q: *Still, there are people who have criticized this show, including the head of Panthera, a large cat conservation group, who says you've put the lions in more danger by conditioning them to accept people.*

A: Oh, Luke [Hunter]. I know him. He's definitely vying for the political side of the conservation world. And I think he just didn't understand the situation. If he'd watched the show a little more closely, it's all explained, why I had to do the things I did, use the methods I did. There's no way to debate that I saved this pride of lions. They were going to be killed.

Q: *What does your family think of this?*

A: My family is pretty understanding. They know this is my passion. They came to see the first show I ever did that season at Wonderland. And they told me that they were glad that I love what I do, but that they never wanted to see it live again. If I'm home sitting next to them, they'll watch the TV shows, happily. But when I go out to film, I tell them very little. They have found their comfort in a lack of knowledge.

Q: *What are you going to do when you get old? Hire someone else to wrestle the lions?*

A: Maybe. I own a production company. I can imagine myself going back to school—maybe I'll ask Luke Hunter to be my thesis adviser. I don't think I'll ever walk away from animals altogether, but physically at some point I'll have to call it a day. I can't do this forever. M



"That first night in Africa, all that confidence I had went away. It was "God, what have I done?"'

PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANDREW TOLSON

CHRISTOPHER WADSWORTH

TAKING SIDES

Was propping up the Tories the right move for Jack Layton's NDP?

BY AARON WHERRY • Just short of 10:30 a.m. last Friday morning, Jack Layton stood in his place in the House of Commons and did the previously unthinkable.

The House was asked to approve various measures in last January's federal budget and allow the government to proceed with confidence. All those voting "yea" were to stand, and after Stephen Harper's Conservatives and Gilles Duceppe's Bloc Québécois were counted, it was Layton's turn to lead the NDP acquiescence. And so he did. The Liberals howled, at least until Michael Ignatieff, grimacing, waved his hand for them to settle down. A few minutes later, with Ignatieff's side voting nay, the motion passed by a count of 224 to 74.

Layton then walked into the foyer to face a skeptical delegation from the press gallery. He was, he said, looking out for all those who had fixed up their patio this summer and were counting on the home renovation tax credit—never mind that the popular measure may or may not have actually been in real danger. A moment later, Ignatieff arrived at the same microphone, looking altogether serene. "Jack and Gilles have gone up the hill," he quipped, "and we know how that little fairy tale ends."

This seemed a terrible day for the leader of the NDP. But if you were thinking Jack Layton had just turned himself inside out, that the unrelenting opponent of this government had just debased himself for the purposes of political expediency, you would be wrong. At least so says the NDP.

"Canadians are fair minded and want their politicians to use common sense," Brad Lavigne, the party's national director, said over coffee a few hours after the vote. "And what you've seen is probably Jack Layton's best week of his leadership."

Really? "Absolutely," Lavigne confirmed. "I'd say it's one of his best weeks by far. In terms of seizing the opportunity, sticking to the principles, recognizing that it actually takes strength to get things for the people that sent us here. I think what Jack Layton has done this week is give a voice to the millions of Canadians who want to see this Parliament work and don't want to go to an election."

Maybe so. But how to reconcile the Layton of last Friday with the Layton of the last three years? How to make sense of a party that loudly mocked the Liberals each time they wilted at the prospect of dealing the government a pivotal blow, only to fold when the onus was on it? What else to consider this but a sudden and dramatic change?

"Politicians do that all the time," says NDP MP Peter Stoffer, the good-natured Nova Scotian. "You do something for quite awhile and all of a sudden, 'Ah, we'll just change our minds now.' More or less what it means is that we looked at the situation, and I think our leader is absolutely correct, you can spend $300 million on an election or, hopefully, get a billion dollars for most of our supporters out there."

The billion-dollar price tag is a reference to the next test of Layton's new-found faith in the Harper government. Specifically, it is the estimated cost of a bill that would temporarily extend Employment Insurance benefits for some long-term workers. Having survived Friday's vote, the government will be free to pursue that legislation. And assuming it passes scrutiny, the NDP will likely again cast its three dozen votes with the government, allowing the Conservatives, it seems now, to survive the fall.

There is generally no prize for consistency in Ottawa. But even by such standards, Layton's *volte face* seemed extraordinary. Eight months ago, Layton stood in the House and denounced not just the government's budget, but those who would let it pass. Following him, his deputy, Thomas Mulcair, told the House that anyone who voted Liberal with the belief that that party would stand up to the "the most right-wing government in Canadian history" had been "conned." With all of that on the record, it was Mulcair who was sent out last week to signal that the NDP would like to see said government survive in the short term.



LAYTON says he voted 'yea' to save the home reno tax credit

EVEN BY PARLIAMENT HILL STANDARDS, LAYTON'S VOLTE-FACE SEEMED EXTRAORDINARY

PHOTOGRAPHS BY ROGER LEMOYNE

Certainly, the relationship between Harper, Layton and their respective parties has long been the subject of intrigue. Shortly before becoming prime minister, Harper acknowledged there were areas in which Conservatives and New Democrats might co-operate, and later granted that a strong NDP worked to his electoral advantage. "In a narrow partisan sense I'd like to see the NDP do better," he told *Maclean's* in December 2007, "but they are locked in a permanent opposition mentality. It's almost congenital."

Last fall, when the government pledged to eliminate the per-vote subsidy to political parties, Conservatives assumed the NDP, with its improved fundraising, would be delighted to join the Tories in grievously injuring the Liberals. But the government also vowed to suspend the public-sector's right to strike and eliminate the right of women to seek pay equity complaints through the Canadian Human Rights Commission. As a result, the NDP chose to side with the Liberals and Harper's government nearly fell.

In the aftermath, the Prime Minister has sought a clear distinction between his side and an alliance of Liberals, "socialists" and "separatists." And where the NDP was once a potential ally in the destruction of the mutually loathed Liberals, it is now just another threat to the country (or at least to Stephen Harper's hope of a majority mandate). Which is why the Tories are back attacking the NDP, even as Layton props up his minority.

Polarization of the political sphere has not helped the NDP cause. The Liberals are generally polling better than last fall's election, they are fundraising at a brisker pace, and Michael Ignatieff is widely expected to fare stronger in an election campaign than Stephane Dion. In the meantime, NDP poll numbers are more or less flat, perhaps even down slightly. The recession has failed to stoke the sort of popular anger that might have been expected to bolster their support. The causes of old—women's rights, the role of the government in the economy—seem decided. The traditional source of strength—organized labour—has suffered a rough year. One recent seat projection—from *threehundredeight.com*—suggested the New Democrats might lose a dozen seats if an election were called now.

All of which, no doubt, makes an election something less than an exciting option for New Democrats. Still, as late as Aug. 28, the NDP was mocking the Liberal side's refusal to get tough with the Tories—a party press release noting that the Liberals have "rubberstamped" Harper's agenda "79 times and counting." But Layton had already begun to draw out a loophole for himself. Speaking to the NDP convention in mid-August, he contrasted his seriousness with the brinksmanship of the Liberals and Conservatives. "While Mr. Harper and Mr. Ignatieff do their election dance, they're letting people wait," he said. The promise of changes to EI was apparently enough of a hook to hang this new narrative from.

Immediate speculation may have pegged the NDP's shift to nothing more than survival—that the party is unprepared for, perhaps even unable to wage, a proper campaign—but New Democrats insist this is simply about seizing opportunity. They hearken back, as they often do, to their rewriting of Paul Martin's budget in 2005, suggesting they can take some credit for changes to EI. "It was an easier decision than I think a lot of folks would give it credit for," Lavigne says of the NDP's move last week.

In the party's never-ending quest to differentiate itself from the competition and seem reasonable, this moment did offer an opportunity to do both. When the Liberals were unwilling to stand up to the Harper government, the NDP was apoplectic. Now that the Liberals are ready to fight, the NDP pleads for sanity. "Most voters who don't like the Harper government still don't want an election and don't see why having one now is in their interests," notes political analyst Bruce Anderson. "'Standing down' is characterized as 'laying down' within the Ottawa microclimate, but everywhere else it looks more like common sense."

This is what Joe Comartin says he's hearing. "I think most people in my area, I like to think we have fairly sophisticated voters here, their analysis is that we have the election, we spend the $300 million to $350 million and we don't get much change. What they'd prefer for us to do is to try to hammer away at the government and try to get the [EI] criteria changed," says Comartin, the Windsor NDP MP who has acknowledged the proposed EI changes won't help many autoworkers in his riding.

Comartin says there is little else on the agenda that would compel the NDP to reverse course again. Corporate tax cuts or an extension to the Afghanistan mission would be deal breakers, but neither is likely to come up this fall. The NDP opposes a proposed free trade deal with Colombia, but the Liberals support it, potentially, Comartin figures, putting Ignatieff in an awkward spot.

In the meantime, if Layton can stand the jeers on Parliament Hill, the NDP may yet seem the conscience of Ottawa it periodically claims to be. "I'll be honest with you, I've never, ever had confidence in Stephen Harper," Stoffer says. "But I am comfortable in looking at the lay of the land and seeing the situation out there, and the reality is it is a change for the NDP, there's no question. But, again, if we're able to do something constructive, then at least that's something positive."

‘The life of the party’

He was an immigrant success, a political star. What happened?

BY NICHOLAS KÖHLER • Last week, an email began making the rounds of the Tory BlackBerry circuit. Titled “Laugh of the day,” it consisted of two sentences pulled from an *Edmonton Journal* story detailing the arrest, on Sept. 11, of former Conservative MP Rahim Jaffer, whom police have charged with drunk driving and cocaine possession. “Edmonton MLA Thomas Lukaszuk knew Jaffer well and said he never saw him intoxicated in any way,” ran the excerpt. “ ‘I knew him to be a religious person,’ Lukaszuk said.”

The email’s recipients considered the quote droll because Jaffer, though almost universally loved among parliamentarians of all political stripes, is known to enjoy a drink. “He’s very hard not to like, although everyone acknowledges his shortcomings,” says another. “I think many people would say Rahim was the life of the party,” says Calgary Tory MP Rob Anders, a long-time colleague.

Indeed, Jaffer wasn’t just the life of any old party, irrepressible, occasionally irresponsible, he was the life of the Conservative party. In 1997, his sociability, infectious sense of fun and unthreatening good looks converged to create a peculiarly Canadian fable: the immigrant-boy-made-good runs successfully for a party, Reform, hitherto seen as unwelcoming to new Canadians; he becomes Canada’s first Muslim MP, a visible minority who stretches the definition of his party; in the process, he helps shape Alberta’s conservative movement into a viable national brand.

“I saw in him the embodiment of the future of the country—the royal jelly,” early Reformer Ian McClelland told a reporter then. News of his criminal charges has changed all that. “I’m surprised, I’m sorry and I’m disappointed, and I’m not going to comment further,” McClelland told *Maclean’s*. “You get older, you’re supposed to be smarter,” fellow Edmonton Reformer Deborah Grey told the CBC. “It’s one of those sad stories of a young guy who achieved a lot early, played hard, lived hard—and it caught up to him,” a Tory insider says.

The 37-year old has seen worse. Jaffer was born in Kampala to Ismaili Muslim parents forced to flee Idi Amin’s Uganda when he was just a baby. His father Nizar, a successful Kampala businessman, and mother Razia had little more than a diaper bag and $10 in cash when they arrived in Canada. Nizar, who had owned a plastics factory, took a job supervising a plastics warehouse. But the couple’s son, with his grin and pudgy appeal, thrived. While still in high school in Edmonton, Jaffer, a natural entrepreneur, organized ski trips to Banff for his classmates, raking in $1,500 in profits. At 21, while studying political science, in French, at the University of Ottawa, he identified a trend toward Starbucks-style gourmet coffee and convinced his father to partner with him on a cafe. In the early days of his political success, he credited his ease on the hustings with his experience handling customers from behind the counter at Grabba Jabba, located on hip Whyte Avenue.

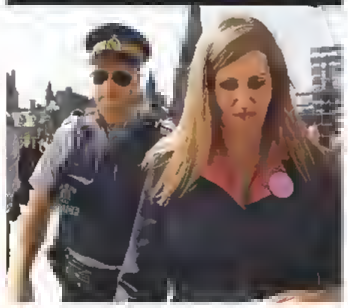
In Ottawa, securing a gig as an aide to Liberal MP Dennis Mills, Jaffer impressed. “He was bright, he had phenomenal interpersonal skills,” Mills says. Despite his experience working in the Liberal camp, and his parents’ Pierre Trudeau nostalgias, Jaffer in the mid-’90s turned to Preston Manning’s Reform party, which still enjoyed a tenuous relationship with new Canadians. Ezra Levant, a rising conservative wunderkind, convinced him he’d find a home there. Indeed, Jaffer was exactly the kind of candidate Levant was seeking. “How do you call a man like that a bigot?” he asked a reporter at the time.

In 1997, the new poster boy for western conservative tolerance won the Reform nomination for Edmonton-Strathcona, even after the head of the nominating committee suggested he should be tested for “exotic foreign diseases” and run in a riding where other ethnics lived. Jaffer was only 24.

Once in Ottawa as an MP, he carved out a reputation as a lothario and long distance hedonist. Columnists marvelled at his frat-boy stamina (“Despite all night partying that started at a Toronto fundraiser and ended just three hours before a morning meeting on Parliament Hill,” an admiring Don Martin wrote in a piece for Southam). Jaffer worked hard to keep under wraps an affair with a parliamentary page. His hijinks could reach Duddy Kravitz proportions. In 2001, he was forced to admit that, yes, Matthew Johnston, his aide, had impersonated him on a radio show in Vancouver (Jaffer had been too busy opening a new café to make the appearance). He accepted Johnston’s resignation and made a tearful apology in the House.

Yet the charm that had always governed his life persisted still. A year later, interim Canadian Alliance leader John Reynolds named him his deputy. Jaffer’s golden status grew more golden when he lured Helena Guergis, Conservative MP for Simcoe Grey, into his orbit. Previously engaged to broadcast reporter turned political operative Scott Brownrigg—he’d managed her successful rookie electoral bid in 2004—Guergis is the 1992 winner of the Miss Huronia pageant.





‘THE STORY WAS HE SPENT TOO MUCH TIME HAVING FUN AND NOT ENOUGH WITH HIS RIDING’

RYAN REMIORZ/CP, SEAN KILPATRICK/CP

JAFFER AND GUERGIS had risen to the thin ranks of Parliament’s beautiful people

and a minor cabinet minister with a reputation on the Hill for being hard on her staff. She and Jaffer rose to the thin ranks of Parliament’s beautiful people.

Then, abruptly, Jaffer’s carriage turned gourd. The NDP captured Edmonton-Strathcona by a little more than 400 votes. Conservative insiders say Jaffer lost the unlosable through sheer laziness. “The story was, and everybody in Edmonton knew it, that Rahim spent too much time having fun and not enough with his constituents,” says one. A few months later, Jaffer asked the Conservative party to stretch a nomination deadline, he was rebuffed. “Why would you give the guy another shot when he had all the opportunity in the world?” one Tory asks.

It’s a question Jaffer doesn’t appear to have asked himself. Though he recently launched Green Power Generation, an alternative energy outfit, with his friend Patrick Glemaud, his affiliation with his party has remained his calling card. His personal website still carries the Conservative logo, and looks strikingly similar to a candidate’s standard online screed. “It just kind of shows how he has not figured out who the hell he is now that he’s not a politician anymore,” says a Conservative. Others believe Jaffer had every intention of getting back into the game. “He still had lots of energy, lots of future and lots of potential left,” says his old boss, Mills. “It was just presumed that there would be another moment.”

That moment now seems far away. Before Jaffer spreads the vast wilderness beyond the Hill, Says Monte Solberg, the former Medicine Hat Tory who retired from public life last fall after 15 years in the House, and a close friend of Jaffer’s. “You’re going from a life where you’re going a hundred miles an hour and you have all the trappings of the job—fly anywhere you want in the country, doors open for you—and all of a sudden you’re doing all these things on your own, it’s coming out of your pocket, people don’t necessarily pick up the phone and call you.”

Perhaps Jaffer, who achieved so much so early, has been at loose ends. Yet there’s another view among some Tories. “It’s the perpetual challenge that Rahim and others have,” says an old pro. “There’s a lot of people who love the guy here, but it’s knowing when you go from frat boy to family man. That was one of the inner demons he was trying to shake.” It was near the end of Ramadan that a Caledon OPP officer spotted a grey Ford Escape speeding through Palgrave, Ont., an hour’s drive from Guergis’s hometown. The officer pulled the SUV over and allegedly smelled alcohol. Later, police say, an officer found cocaine on Jaffer’s person.

Jaffer has returned from scandal before. “Rahim always had, and does still have, that public demeanour of a duck with water going off its back,” says Conservative operative Tim Powers, VP of Ottawa-based Summa Communications. Jaffer released a statement saying he’ll fight the charges. Glémaud says he is doing well and has the support of his wife and family. “This incident showed Rahim the people that are his true friends, that he has some people outside of politics, and some inside, that will stand by his side.” He believes the charges will not stand. “A couple of months from now,” he says, “this thing will be a non-story.” Yet a non-story may also mean the end of the fable. M

FOR THE RECORD

KNUCKLE-RAP FOR PRISON OFFICIALS

“It’s just not acceptable to have people turned loose that are a danger or a threat to the public. It’s not something the public should have to worry about. We have to do a better job with this.”
—Saskatchewan Justice Minister Don Morgen on the fact that it took two weeks for Regina Correctional Centre officials to notice that a man charged with assault had been mistakenly released. Curtis Russell Francis was rearrested and taken into custody last week.

MOTO MADNESS

Should bikers pay more for insurance? Quebec thinks so.

BY TOM HENHEFFER • Last weekend, hundreds of Quebec motorcyclists took to the highways for Operation Snail, the 16th in a series of protests aimed at Quebec’s insurance board, the Societe de l’Assurance Automobile du Québec (SAAQ). The bikers drove along at sluggish speeds, clogging up main traffic arteries, and rallied on the steps of the Quebec City legislature. They are angry over rate hikes instituted by the SAAQ: registration costs have soared for all types of motorcycles—the most powerful models have been worst hit, with fees spiking from $667 last year to $1,030 in 2009 and $1,410 for 2010.

Audrey Chaput, a spokesperson for the SAAQ, admits the new rate hikes aren’t about safety—they’re meant to correct a huge deficit in provincial insurance funds caused by motorcycle accidents. Bikers only pay about $35 million into the insurance system each year, but claim approximately $144 million. “If we kept it the way it was ... there would not be any more funds for insurance in 20 to 30 years,” Chaput says. Bikers admit that motorcycle accidents are often more severe than car crashes, leading to larger insurance payouts. But they argue that they’re as safe as car drivers, and so are being unfairly targeted. “We aren’t asking the government to drop the fees, because we know we have to pay to keep the program alive. But we don’t agree with how they apply it,” says Normand Noiseux, spokesman for Coalition Moto, the organization that arranged the protests.

Noiseux argues the steep prices have nothing to do with safety. “They didn’t put in place any program to minimize deaths and injuries on the road and I think that is the first goal ... not just to put money in SAAQ.” Chaput agrees that bikers are generally safe drivers, but says motorcycles are inherently dangerous. According to the SAAQ, motorcycles are up to eight times more likely to be involved in accidents. And while they make up only two per cent of vehicles on Quebec’s roads, they’re involved in almost nine per cent of fatal crashes. M

HUNG OUT TO DRY

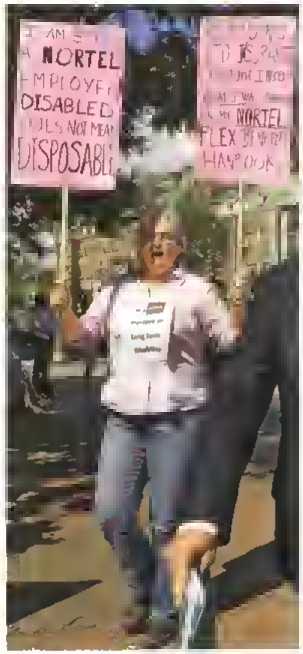
The U.S. and Britain protect pensions. So why doesn't Canada?

BY JULIEN BUSSELL GRUNET • When Nortel Networks filed for bankruptcy protection in January, it was particularly hard on Ray Hounsell. The 63-year-old's family had been working for the telecommunications giant for three generations, putting in more than 100 combined years of service—yet he is almost certainly going to get stiffed on his pension. "I spent 38 years in Nortel," he says. "My dad spent 36 years in Nortel. And his father, my grandfather, spent 30 years in Nortel. Needless to say, it has been extremely difficult."

Now, Hounsell is preparing to get in line with the rest of Nortel's creditors—the bondholders, commercial lenders, and suppliers—for a piece of the company's rapidly diminishing assets. At best, he figures he'll get 70 per cent of the money he was promised, while banks that made secured loans to the company will likely get back every penny. Other former Nortel employees won't be as lucky. According to some estimates, ex-Nortel employees entitled to severance payments and employees on long-term disability will get back just 10 per cent of the money they are owed.

If Hounsell had been living in Britain or the U.S. he wouldn't have to worry. Both countries have funds that protect the pensions of workers when their companies go under. In the States, for instance, the U.S. Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation steps in to top up defined benefit pensions by as much as $58,500 a year. The corporation has already agreed to cover a $514-million deficit in the pension plan for Nortel's 23,000 American workers. Similarly in Britain, workers can get up to $52,000 a year in assistance. But in Canada, Ontario is the only jurisdiction that has any sort of guarantee fund at all, and it provides just $12,000 per year, maximum. To add insult to injury, Premier Dalton McGuinty announced in April that the fund is now broke and could not cover pension liabilities should another major company fail. "Right now, companies can voluntarily wind up a pension and basically just walk away, and pensioners don't get what they are promised—and that's wrong," Conservative MP Ted Menzies said last month.

The recession has decimated retirement portfolios and brought big-name companies such as Nortel and AbitibiBowater to their knees. Critics charge that Canada isn't doing enough to protect pensioners—and it's a problem that will only get worse. In early August, international bond-rating agency DBRS examined 70 defined-benefit pension plans at Canada's largest private-sector companies. Alarmingly, it found that 15 have funding gaps of more than 20 per cent. Some of the companies whose pensions were most underfunded include Nexen (approximately 42 per cent underfunded), Manulife (28 per cent) and Suncor Energy (24 per cent). If any of those companies were to go bankrupt tomorrow, their pensioners would risk getting shortchanged.



NORTEL employees on disability may get just 10 per cent of the money they're owed

Philip Slayton, author and former dean of law at the University of Western Ontario, says the problem is further compounded by the way assets are divvied up in a bankruptcy. He thinks that pensioners should go to the front of the line, but in Canada pensioners have to fight it out with everyone else. The result is that pensioners and disabled former employees can end up battling the high-priced lawyers and accountants hired by big banks to get what's owed to them, a situation Slayton calls "fundamentally unfair." Mark Zigler, managing partner at Toronto law firm Koskie Minsky, which is representing ex-Nortel workers, says the situation for disabled employees is especially dire. Canadian companies could be compelled to get third-party insurance to back up their long-term disability programs, but instead, corporations are allowed to self-insure. This means that employees who thought they were getting their disability payments through a big, safe insurance company can find that their benefits suddenly evaporate when the company they worked for goes bankrupt.

The Nortel Retirees Protection Committee has been fighting to change all this. Its goal is an immediate amendment to Canada's Bankruptcy and Insolvency Act (BIA), giving priority to pension fund deficits and other benefits. It also hopes to convince the Ontario government to rescue workers directly, using the Ontario Pension Benefit Guarantee Fund.

None of that has happened yet, but with an election looming somewhere on the horizon, Ottawa has taken notice of the pension reform issue. The Conservatives have promised to act this fall to protect the value of private pension plans offered by federally regulated companies, such as Bell and CN, and guarantee that workers will get 100 per cent of their pension in cases of insolvency. On Sept. 15, Conservative MP David Tilson tabled a petition in the House of Commons calling on the government to amend the BIA and put pension fund claimants ahead of other creditors in the event of bankruptcy proceedings. Two days later, Liberal MP Robert Oliphant introduced a private member's bill in the House that would require both public and private pension fund managers to disclose the process by which investment decisions are made. The bill is about transparency, says Oliphant. "It is designed to protect pension members and their right to know how their money is invested."

Pension reform seems to be gaining momentum, but pensioners aren't convinced. If changes don't come soon, many fear, they could spend their declining years in poverty. "We're frustrated—not because we are not getting our message through, but because it seems that there is no sense of urgency," says Antony Marsh, a 69-year-old former Nortel employee and member of the Nortel retirees group. "The government is going to take a long time to make the changes that we think are so obvious and desperately needed." M

SEAN KILPATRICK/CP

CBC to use TV product placements

BY KATE LUNAU • Who's the biggest breakout star of CBC TV's lineup? Answer: TD Canada Trust. This fall, thanks to a new product-placement deal, the bank will appear in episodes of CBC's *Being Erica*, *Little Mosque on the Prairie* and *Heartland*.

Long a staple of American broadcasting, product placement is still relatively rare in Canada, says Scott Moore, CBC's general manager of media sales and marketing. As a trusted home of Canadian content, the network provides a "unique advantage" to advertisers.

Indeed, the CBC is relying on such deals more than ever: revenue from product integration has increased 10 times over the past two years, and should continue to grow. And so, this season on *Little Mosque*, expect to see the new reverend in town pay a visit to his local branch to see if he can afford to throw a party, on *Being Erica*, Anthony will be managing a TD bank.



TD Canada Trust will be featured on network programming

Critics are lamenting the commercialization of Canada's public broadcaster. Product placement threatens to undermine the CBC's role, says Ryerson University's Jeffrey Dvorkin. Ian Morrison, spokesperson for the independent watchdog Friends of Canadian Broadcasting, worries that product placement on the CBC could "discourage support for taxpayer funding of public broadcasting in Canada."

But the broadcaster might just have to take that risk. Although it receives over $1 billion in government funding each year, "in real dollar terms, we've lagged behind inflation," Moore says. "We can either believe in the tooth fairy, and that the government will give us more money, or we can find ways to support what we think is important cultural work in Canada," he adds. "That means finding new funding streams." M

MARK BLINCH/REUTERS GETTY IAN BARRETT

Group wants condoms in P.E.I. schools


About 30 per cent of Island youth have had unprotected sex

BY TOM HENHEFFER • High schoolers in P.E.I. are having sex, and they need condoms. That's the message from Hep'd up on Life, a publicly funded health group fighting to reduce sexually transmitted infections among teenagers on the Island. Currently, no schools in P.E.I. have condom dispensers, only a handful offer counselling programs where students can obtain contraceptives. Hep'd up hopes that will soon change: it wants to place condom dispensers in every high school across the province.

According to Statistics Canada, about 30 per cent of Island youth have already had unprotected sex. That's far too many, says Hep'd up program coordinator Pam O'Neill. "We're trying to make condoms accessible to youth so they don't have to go to [the local drug store], where, in a small community, you'll probably know the cashier," she says. "We're more ready to grasp the concept of harm reduction. Making the community safer is going to help everyone."

Dale McIsaac is the principal of Bluefield High School in Hampshire, P.E.I. He supports Hep'd up's efforts to reduce STI transmission, but believes giving students unrestricted access to condoms is a bad idea. The dispensers, he says, will undercut sex education programs, like the one his school already employs. At Bluefield High, students can get free condoms, but first must speak with a youth worker about sex and relationships.

O'Neill disagrees. She says the dispensers will give students who aren't comfortable talking with adults about sex access to protection. Hep'd up plans to bring its proposal before P.E.I.'s minister of education later this school year. O'Neill thinks the appeal has a good chance of success, and believes the condom campaign is already showing positive results. "The youth are learning from it, it's a win-win all over the place." M

McGill M.B.A. program goes private

BY MARTIN PATRIQUIN • "You need to spend money to make money."

It's an old business adage that McGill University's Desautels Faculty of Management is taking to heart. Next year, tuition for its two-year M.B.A. program will increase to $29,500 per year. That's a massive hike—as much as 1,663 per cent—from the current rates of just over $1,500 for Quebec residents and $4,675 for out-of-province students (international students already pay upward of $20,000 per year). The increase means the school will become entirely self-funded, making it one of the last M.B.A. programs in the country to do so.

The tuition bump has been in the works for several years, and was introduced in part to enhance McGill's international reputation. Desautels ranked third among Canadian business schools in a recent *Forbes* survey, behind York University's Schulich School of Business and UBC's Sauder School of Business, both of which are self-funded. (Université de Montréal's HEC, which offers a highly regarded one-year M.B.A. program, remains publicly funded.) Higher tuition fees will mean the school can afford to lure world-class teachers.


Tuition will jump next year by 1,663 per cent—from $1,500 to $29,500

A McGill M.B.A. "costs" the school $22,000 a year in professor salaries and other fees, says Desautels spokesperson Ron Duerksen, an amount hardly covered by the current tuition model. The remainder is subsidized by the school. "Right now, you have a situation where the arts faculty is subsidizing the M.B.A. program when M.B.A. graduates make double what an arts graduate makes."

It might seem odd for students to welcome a tuition hike, but those at Desautels are satisfied with the decision. "A definite majority is in favour of the change," said Allison Aab, president of the Desautels M.B.A. Student Association. "Most students realize that the current model is unsustainable." Still, Aab is happy to be among the last students to pay the cut rate. "We squeaked by." M



A RECENT POLL found that 61 per cent of Republicans consider Obama 'untrustworthy.' That's up 26 percentage points since February

HOW OBAMA DIVIDED AMERICA

The President's aggressive policy agenda has reignited partisan politics

BY LUIZA CH SAVAGE • It was the largest protest march, so far, of Obama's presidency. They came from around the country on Sept. 12, tens of thousands of people filling Pennsylvania Avenue en route to the White House, where only months earlier an ecstatic crowd had celebrated the election of the first black president of the United States and the end of the Bush era.

Now they came in anger, with signs declaring "Tax Slave Revolt" and "Stop Spending our Grandkids' Futures," and chanting "No Obamacare." One sign read, "National health care doesn't work. Just ask Canada." Some aimed personally at the President. "Let's see your records! Let's see your birth certificate!" shouted one man into a megaphone. Others chanted simply, "U.S.A.! U.S.A.!"

Unlike the young and racially mixed crowds that poured out for the inauguration, this crowd was overwhelmingly white, and mostly older. These were the people Obama was supposed to reach, to soothe, to win over with his "post-partisan" politics and his stirring campaign slogan of uniting "Red and Blue America into a United States of America." Instead, Red America was not greeting him with flowers. "We came unarmed—this time!" read one placard. During the hard-fought Democratic primary contest against Hillary Rodham Clinton, part of Obama's argument was that he was going to move past rigid divides between the political left and right, that he offered a generational turning of the page on the ideological battles of the 1960s that had moulded Clinton's generation. But now this promise seems to ring as hollow as candidate George W. Bush's pledge in the 2000 campaign to be "a uniter, not a divider."

Over the summer, town halls discussing Obama's health care reform turned into shouting matches, with some attendees showing up with weapons. When the President prepared a motivational back-to-school speech to schoolchildren, some parents pulled their kids from class to escape what they feared would be liberal brainwashing. (A prepared lesson plan would have asked kids what they can do to "help the President." It was scrapped.) When he stood up to give a speech to a joint session of Congress about health care reform, a Republican from South Carolina took the unprecedented step of shouting, "You lie!" Congressional Democrats censured him, but some in the Washington protest crowd carried signs that read, "Joe Wilson is my hero." Former president Jimmy Carter concluded that the backlash had to do with Obama's race. "I think an overwhelming portion of the intensely demonstrated animosity toward President Barack Obama is based on the fact that he is a black man," Carter said on Sept. 15. When comedian David Letterman asked Obama if he agreed with Carter, Obama joked, "I think it's important to realize that I was actually black before the election." A White House spokesman portrayed the turmoil as merely a policy "disagreement."

It is more than that.

Since March, a yawning gap in approval ratings for Obama has opened up between Republicans and Democrats—even bigger than George W. Bush's. It has led critics to call him not only a polarizing figure, but the most polarizing president in history. Obama's election win was respectable, but close: 53 per cent of the vote, compared to John McCain's 46. Still, he entered office on a wave of popularity. His approval ratings were a much stronger 64 per cent prior to his inauguration in January, according to a poll by the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press; some polls had him in the 70s. Now he has dropped to 52 per cent approval, with only 18 per cent of Republicans approving of him, a drop from 30 per cent in April. Obama's partisan gap is bigger than Bush's because more Democrats still back him—82 per cent, down from 92 per cent in the spring. "When a president's job approval is higher than the vote in the election, that suggests there are people who voted against him giving him the benefit of the doubt," says Michael Dimock, a pollster at Pew, which does extensive presidential polling. "He started from a very high point in February and March, but his approval ratings have fallen substantially."

Indeed. The proverbial honeymoon ended quickly: the seeds of division were planted with the massive US$787-billion economic stimulus bill—which drew plenty of criticism and not a single vote from Republicans in the House (and only three GOP votes in the Senate) when it passed in February—and the ballooning deficit. A Pew poll this month found that 61 per cent of Republicans consider Obama "not trustworthy," up from 35 per cent in February. The President has also lost support among moderate and conservative Democrats. And his support among independents is down too.

The story of Obama's current decline can be boiled down to three parts. One involves an underlying cultural shift in America, one is Obama's aggressive policy agenda and some missteps in how he is implementing it, and the third is the largely overlooked role of George W. Bush.

There is a significant amount of personal animosity to Obama—some 10 per cent of Americans falsely believe he was born in Kenya, not in the U.S., and is not legally entitled to be president. But the loud conservative backlash brewing in the country is bigger than Obama, and started in the waning days of the Bush administration. There had long been a drumbeat of criticism on the right over the "un-conservative" things Bush did: from his plans for amnesty for illegal aliens to his massive deficits, and passing the largest new entitlement since Lyndon Johnson's Great Society programs of the 1960s—a Medicare prescription drug benefit for seniors—without finding the money for it. But a watershed moment came in September 2008 when the financial crisis began to unfold and the Bush administration swiftly moved in. There was the US$700 billion Wall Street bailout (followed by revelations that top executives still received lucrative bonuses while taxpayers footed the bill for the survival of their companies), and then Washington's expansion into a dizzying number of companies. The government now accounts for 26 per cent of the American economy, the most since the Second World War. It owns the lion's share of insurer AIG, has a majority stake in General Motors, and finances most consumer credit card and mortgage lending in the country.

'PEOPLE ARE UPSET AT HOW BIG AND HOW FAST THIS GUY IS TRYING TO GO'

The Obama administration insists the measures are temporary, but a large number of Americans are bewildered at the massive, rapid changes they have witnessed. Many of the protesters who came to Washington on Sept. 12 carried signs denouncing Obama or Nancy Pelosi, the Democratic Speaker of the House of Representatives, but just as many were raising their voice against "big government" and the debt being left to their children and grandchildren. They were mostly Republicans, but they were not shy about denouncing Bush or congressional GOPers either. "When Bush said we need to abandon free market principles to save the free market, that's when I almost went blind!" said Jim Wilford, a 33-year-old Republican entrepreneur from Mays Landing, N.J., who carried a sign comparing members of Congress to space aliens. What brought him into the streets? "Everything," he said. "The whole government is jacked up—Republicans and Democrats. The common people have to make their voices heard." He listed as his concerns out-of-control government spending, health care reform, the auto bailout, and "the socialistic and Marxist ideologies invading the consciousness of the government."

If Bush's Wall Street bailout and the growth of government got many Americans steamed, Obama took those embers and lit a bonfire. "When he was elected, I thought he was very sincere. I gave him the benefit of the doubt and thought that things would go well," recalled Brenda Pitts, a 64-year-old retiree from Charleston, S.C., who calls herself a middle-of-the-line fiscal conservative. But she was aghast at Obama's ambitious agenda, which encompasses spending on everything from alternative energy, road building, health care and education to tax credits for homebuyers. "He's spending too much money!" she said. "I think our country is going in the wrong direction. We are going toward socialism. I am against socialized medicine."



TENS OF THOUSANDS rallied against the President's policies this month in Washington

KEVIN LAMARQUE/REUTERS

JOSE LUIS MAGANA/CP

To say that Obama's policies are socialistic is an overstatement. He has allowed the idea of a government-run health insurance alternative to wither in Congress, and is now backing a reform that would, in essence, allow the federal government to subsidize the working poor to buy private insurance (an approach that Republican presidential hopeful Mitt Romney pushed through in Massachusetts while he was governor there). It's also a plan that Hillary Clinton last week referred to as "so conservative."

However, the big picture of a vast and whirlwind expansion of government power and spending in the past year is undeniable

But on substance, he has done little to assuage concerns about the growth of big government and the ballooning debt. On the contrary, he moved ahead with an ambitious agenda. And health care reform, in particular, was bound to be divisive. But rather than apply his personal middle-of-the-road approach from the beginning, he let the more liberal leaning leaders in the House—where Democrats hold a 256 to 178 seat majority—set the terms of the debate. The bill put forward by the House, which would cost more than a trillion dollars, and which includes a government-run health insurance option, was anathema to many conservatives and is unlikely

THE LOUD conservative backlash started in the waning days of the Bush administration



While Democrats say that Obama inherited a record deficit from Bush, Republicans counter that Obama's "borrow and spend" policies will triple the national debt by 2019—from US$5.8 trillion to US$17.3 trillion. And the anxiety and backlash that has produced in a nation where half the population considers capitalism synonymous with patriotism should not come as a surprise.

Obama's contribution to the divisiveness that continues to bedevil America has not been in his personal style, which remains conciliatory and open. "Obama himself is about the least divisive president you could imagine," says Leo Ribuffo, a political historian at George Washington University. "Unlike Carter or Clinton, Obama temperamentally really is a compromiser. That may have to do with his experiences growing up or his understanding that a black president can frighten whites. You could argue that he's not fighting back enough."

to survive the Senate, where the Democratic advantage is a slimmer 59 to 40.

On top of health care reform, the scope of his remaining agenda is fuelling anxiety. "Most people are just upset at how big and how fast this guy is trying to go," said David McClatchy, a 73-year-old retiree from Philadelphia who drove to the Washington protest with buddies in a rented van and brandished a sign that read, "Stop spending my money." A better approach to health care reform, McClatchy said, would have been to start with legal reforms to make it more difficult to sue doctors so they would order fewer unnecessary tests, and then to subsidize poor people to buy health insurance—"Not everything at once." McClatchy opposes the growth of government. "I didn't agree with Bush's spending either." But as for Obama, "He lied about the kind of person he was. I think he is a Marxist."

'[OBAMA] LIED ABOUT THE KIND OF PERSON HE WAS. I THINK HE IS A MARXIST.'

But the promise of unification may have been illusory from the start. "For about a hundred years the mainstream of American politics has been in denial about conflict, and emphasizes that we should all work together," says Ribuffo. "There is considerable real conflict in the U.S. It's not Pakistan or Afghanistan, and we don't have a secessionist party controlling one of our states, but there are real differences."

It comes down to a fundamental ideological rift over the role of government—a mainstay of American politics regardless of who is in power. "The U.S. is not Canada, France or Sweden," Ribuffo says. "It has a long anti-statist tradition of powerful conservatives. And there is no reason to think it would go away. I know to the rest of the world it may seem odd for these bits of government intervention to seem extraordinary. But we have to remember that the American Republican party is the most successful free market party in the world."

Indeed, listening to some of the protesters who converged on Washington on Sept. 12 suggests the chasm may be unbridgeable. Retiree Pitts blames Obama for having "totally failed" to unite the country. As for Bush's failure to do so, she blames it on "Democratic smear tactics" against the Iraq war. "No one could ever convince me that Saddam didn't have weapons of mass destruction," she says. "He just had them hidden."

Likewise, protester Wilford, a father of four, can't be convinced to support Obama's health care reform, which he opposes on principle—even though he cannot afford to buy health insurance for his own family, but earns too much to qualify for Medicaid, the program for low-income people. "We don't have health care. We will pay for it on our own. We're health conscious," said Wilford. If he gets a large bill, "We'll work it out with the hospital." He has no interest in the health care reform which is supposed to help make it more affordable for people in his position to buy insurance. "It's all a power grab. It's disgusting," he said.

The Pew Center has been polling on a variety of political questions over the year, and Dimock sees two major trends that both point to political divisiveness and alienation. First, Democrats and Republicans are growing further apart on fundamental questions. "There is more divisiveness on social welfare and the government safety net," he says. "There are bigger gaps over affirmative action. There is

Continued on page 37

CHIP SOMODEVILLA/GETTY



Time to give thanks

by Julia Howell

Imagine Canada

Community means different things to all of us. But however we define it, one thing is clear: charities and nonprofits are at the core of our communities. They build our communities and they sustain them. With 161,000 across the country, every Canadian in every community is touched in some way by these mission-based organizations.

Charities and nonprofits keep our communities green, they ensure that we are well-nourished mentally, physically and spiritually, they tell our stories, they build community pride and engagement, and they support us when we are unable to support ourselves.

Imagine Canada, a national umbrella for the charitable sector, is calling on Canadians to reflect on the work of charities and nonprofits this Thanksgiving.

When you're sitting down this holiday weekend with family and friends, please consider giving thanks for the community organizations that are meaningful to you – especially now when demand for their support is up and resources are down. This is particularly important in these difficult economic times when charities and nonprofits are often struggling to secure the resources they need to continue to support Canadians and to strengthen our quality of life in our communities across the country.

And if you haven't made a donation lately, what better time than Thanksgiving?

In these pages you will find the latest research on giving and volunteering and some tips and tools to help you give. You will also read about fellow Canadians and how they have chosen to support charities and nonprofits. We hope they will inspire you.

thanks & giving

imagine what we can achieve together!

About Imagine Canada

Imagine Canada is a national charitable organization. Our cause is Canada's charities and nonprofits. It is our mission to support and strengthen charities and nonprofits so they can, in turn, support the Canadians and communities they serve. We work on a variety of issues and challenges that face the sector, often in partnership, including funding, human resources, volunteerism, governance and sector accountability. It is our role to be a strong voice for issues and challenges and to bring them to the forefront of Canada's key decision makers and influencers. Imagine Canada is also a forum and meeting place where the sector can come together to mobilize, share knowledge and best practices as well as plant the seeds of innovation. And, we work to create a supporting environment to help charities and nonprofits with tools and resources to enable them to achieve their missions for stronger communities.

Imagine Canada
Learn more about Canada's charities and nonprofits at www.imaginecanada.ca
Give to your favourite charity online at www.CanadaHelps.org

How Canada Gives

Over 21,000 Canadians recently took part in the Canada Survey of Giving, Volunteering and Participating (CSGVP) – the largest study of its kind. The results paint a picture of the many ways in which Canadians express their interests, their values about community involvement and their compassion toward others. Here's what the 2007 survey tells us.

GIVING FACTS

- 84% or 23 million Canadians donate to charities and nonprofits
- A total of $10 billion was given in 2007
- On average, Canadians donated $437 (up from $400 in 2004)
- 91% of those who volunteer also donate

There is a strong reliance on a few supporters, however, with 25% of Canadians donating 82% of total dollars given. 10% of all donors gave 62% of the total dollars given.

Getting an Early Start

When 11-year-old Maxine Bullock was planning her recent birthday party she decided it wasn't about the presents anymore. "I've got enough stuff," she said. So instead of bringing gifts she asked her friends to bring donations to a charity Maxine had picked out.

Earlier in the year, her school had adopted another school in Sierra Leone with gifts of books, clothing, toys and cash, and this got her thinking about the work of international development organizations, providing aid to children like her, but living in impoverished and war-torn countries. After some internet searching, she settled on Save the Children Canada.

Maxine's favourite birthday present was the hand-written thank-you note she received back from the charity. No doubt this venture into fundraising will not be her last.

GIVING FACTS

- A 10-year-old girl made snowman soup (hot chocolate, marshmallows and Hersheys kisses) and bookmarks and sold them at school. With matches, she raised over $500 for educational programming for children in Bolivia.
- A 10-year-old boy took a vow of silence for one day, raising $125 from pledges.
- Children and youth contribute more than $25,000 annually to Save the Children.

**from Save the Children Canada*

Youth are leading the charge

Lori Quick's daughter Jenna was approaching a major milestone, her fifth birthday. When Jenna was born with a life-threatening illness her family was told that she would not live beyond the first year. Now, almost five years later, the hospital was approaching the Quick family to see if Jenna would like to have a wish granted. "Okay, that means my daughter is terminal," says Lori. "That was a lot to swallow."

Through Make-A-Wish-Canada, they decided that they would take Jenna to Disney World. A local school wanted to adopt Jenna by raising the money to have her wish granted. But it was the efforts of one 17-year-old girl that took the wish to new heights.

Jackie Hivett, who had been student council president in the previous year, showed up one evening at the principal's home and announced that they had to hold an assembly for Jenna. On the day that Lori's third child was born the entire Quick family went to the school. "The whole town was there. The cheerleaders did cheers for Jenna and the orchestra played for her. It was amazing," said Lori.

But the story doesn't end with the wish granted. When Jackie was married thirteen years later, the Quick girls were in her wedding party. Jenna and Jackie have a strong bond still today. And since 2000, Lori has been Executive Director of Make a Wish's Southwestern Ontario chapter where she has been instrumental in expanding the Kids for Wish Kids program.

"It's not a job, it's a lifestyle," says Quick. "It's who you are."

GIVING FACTS

- Young people active in student government give at a higher rate than others
- They also give larger annual amounts ($566 vs. $405)

**From the 2007 Canada Survey of Giving, Volunteering and Participating*

The Power of One

All it takes is the marriage of one good idea and the desire to do good. For Kate and Stephen Fish these came together when planning their recent wedding.

The idea morphed from the common practice of offering wedding favours to guests. The couple had been to over 50 weddings between the two of them where they'd received "lovely mementos but nothing that significant," says Kate. They had originally thought of making a donation in memory of a loved one, but later decided they wanted to pass the satisfaction of giving back on to their friends and family. They opted to give guests a gift card – with a special message from the couple – worth $10 to donate to the charity of their choice.

Some friends chose to give to charities important to the couple. Donations were given to the Canadian Cancer Society in recognition of the loss of Stephen's mother and to the Canadian Association for Community Living that provides support to Kate's aunt.

Others gave to their favourite local charity like the Humane Society. "We were curious to see what was important to them and wanted to inspire them to lend their support," says Kate. All in all, Canadian charities benefited from $1,000 in donations. One couple, one marriage and 100 acts of generosity.

Giving Goes Online

Jaime Adam's father, Randy Baraniuk, was diagnosed with Alzheimer's disease about seven years ago. He has a very rare form, called Pick's disease, that has plagued three generations of his family. Very few of the afflicted reach the age of 60. Last







Children's Miracle Network is an international non-profit organization that raises funds for more than 170 children's hospitals worldwide, 14 of which are in Canada. Compassionate organizations, media partners and countless individuals unite with Children's Miracle Network hospitals to help sick and injured children in local communities. Donations to Children's Miracle Network create miracles by funding medical care, research and education that improves the lives of over 2.6 million children each year - children just like Julia.

To learn more or to find out how you can help, visit ChildrensMiracleNetwork.ca

Give to your favourite charity online at www.CanadaHelps.org

Learn more about Canada's charities and nonprofits at www.imaginecanada.ca

Imagine Canada

year, Jaime and her family were forced to place him in a long-term care facility at the age of 53

Both Jaime and her mother Hilda decided to do what they could to turn the tragedy into something productive Both avid walkers, the women landed on a mega walk around British Columbia's beautiful Cowichan Lake Called the Great Lake Walk, this annual event mobilizes more than 400 Canadians to cover 56 kilometres and raise money for the cause of their choice In the case of these two walkers, the choice was clear Jaime and Hilda are walking on September 19th for the Alzheimer's Society

Not one to do anything in half measure, Jaime sourced CanadaHelps' online giving pages in an effort to maximize the impact of their fundraising efforts She and her mother both have friends and family all over the world, and wanted a simple way to reach everyone about their cause.

"It has allowed us to turn over the administration to the specialists and focus on our goals (logging a lot of miles and raising money)"

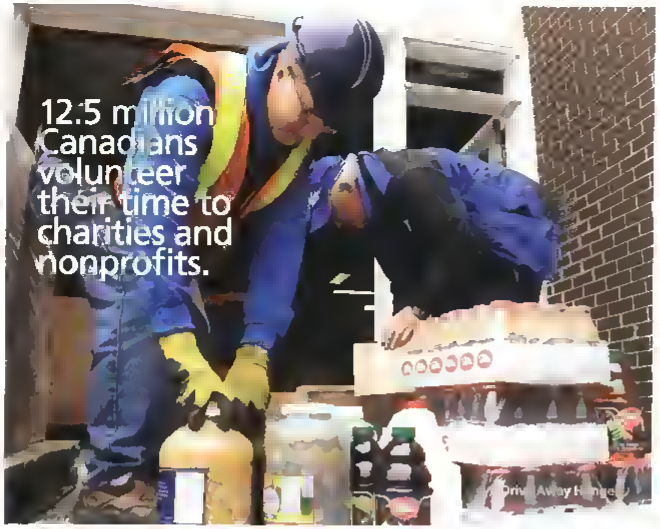
After just two weeks, they have raised over $1,000 and are hoping to make it an annual mother daughter event

"My mom and I are very excited about this walk I think we both feel pretty helpless with this disease to date, and this gives us the opportunity to contribute, even if it is in a small way It also gives us an opportunity to have some great mother-daughter time on Vancouver Island, and that is always a good thing"

A mother-daughter team in action

Here's a snapshot of some of the efforts of this dynamic duo

- Jaime has completed the 43 km walk for Cancer and the Big Bike for the Heart & Stroke Foundation; she has been involved with the Go Girl program of Big Brothers and Sisters
- Hilda volunteers and fundraises for the local chapter of the Alzheimer's Society and she helps organize the annual CIBC Run for the Cure in Saskatoon



GIVING FACTS*

- CanadaHelps org, an innovative online giving portal, has seen a 40% growth in their service since they were established in 2005, with 7,000 charities now registered
- Their giving pages are their most popular social media tool
- Giving online reduces administrative costs for charities, meaning that your donation can have an even greater impact

**from CanadaHelps*

No donation is too small

The Tsunami disaster in Indonesia was the largest recovery effort in the existence of the Canadian Red Cross Almost $200 million was raised by individual Canadians, more than half the amount contributed overall. And much of this, according to Cathie Desborough in the Atlantic Canada office, came from regular Canadians, many of whom were children

"Tens of thousands of dollars came in through kids in Atlantic Canada alone, emptying their piggybanks and selling pop bottles," says Desborough.

The efforts of children are also important to the agency's other international development efforts One little girl arrived at the Canadian Red Cross's Annual General Meeting with money she'd raised for Malaria prevention in Africa She'd noticed other children selling chocolate bars and figured if people would buy chocolate, why not bed nets? With the help of her Malaria Bites website, her goal of 10 bed nets resulted in a total of 20 sold

GIVING FACTS

- 97% of the dollars raised by the Red Cross for the Tsunami have been spent or committed, 3% has been left unallocated for unforeseen needs related to housing, clean water, healthcare, future disaster preparedness, etc
- 62,327 transitional and permanent homes have been built for those who were displaced, 12,722 are under construction
- 450 wells have been built
- 4 hospitals have been rehabilitated or given new equipment

**from the Canadian Red Cross Atlantic Canada office*

Giving and Volunteering

Findings from the 2007 Canada Survey of Giving, Volunteering and Participating indicate a strong link between giving and volunteering. In fact, 91% of Canadians who volunteer also donate

The Motivations

- 90% donate out of compassion for people in need
- 86% donate to help a cause they personally believe in
- 93% volunteer to make a contribution to the community

While most of us engage in both behaviours for altruistic reasons, there are many documented benefits – and incentives – to give and volunteer.

VOLUNTEERING FACTS*

- 77% volunteer to use their skills and experiences
- 66% of volunteers indicate that volunteering advanced their interpersonal skills, such as understanding and motivating people or being better able to handle difficult situations
- Almost half (45%) indicated that they acquired communications skills

The Benefits of Volunteering

From Volunteering and Healthy Aging (volunteer50plus.ca) Volunteer Canada

1. Builds your community

Volunteering encourages interaction between people living in a community and strengthens community connections

2. Boosts your own health

Feeling connected to community can also play a key role in how healthy you feel According to researchers from Harvard University, volunteering is a reflection of social connectedness, which is strongly associated with the health of the people in that community.

3. Reduces your stress

According to Harvard cardiologist Herbert Benson the health benefits of doing good things for others are similar to those experienced by anyone who practices yoga and meditation, namely a slowing down of heart rate and a decrease in blood pressure



4. Helps you find new purpose

As we grow older, volunteering appears to give new meaning to life, reducing anxiety and depression and increasing life satisfaction A University of Michigan Study of 423 older couples found that people who make a contribution to the lives of others may help to extend their own lives

Join Chris Bosh's team

Help kids shoot for their best in life.



Donate to Boys and Girls Clubs of Canada at www.bgccan.com

Boys & Girls Clubs of Canada
Clubs Garçons & Filles du Canada



ONE OF CANAOA'S LEAOING LAW FIRMS, OFFERING INFORMEO ANO INNOVATIVE AOVICE ON ALL ASPECTS OF CHARITIES LAW, INCLUOING:

- Charitable gift planning
- Charities governance and regulatory advice

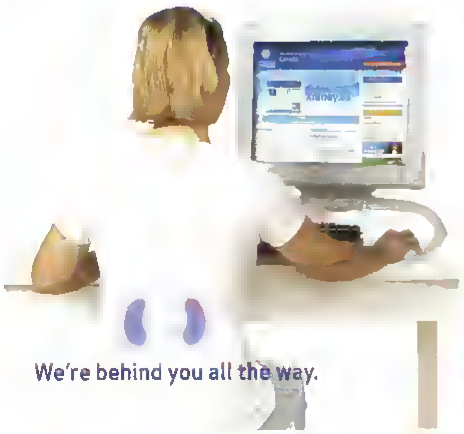
For more information contact
charities@millerthomson.com

www.millerthomson.com

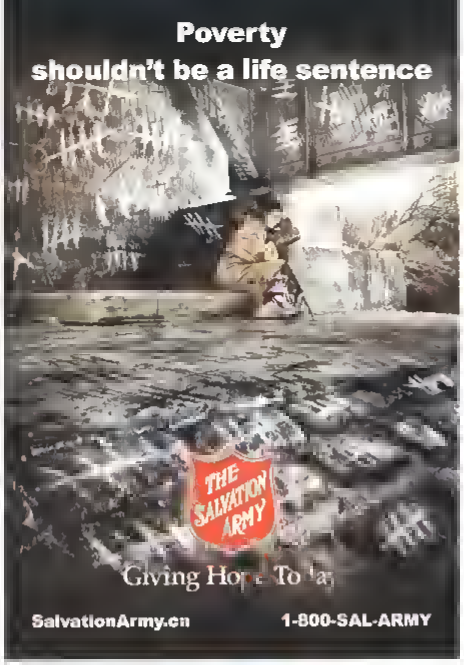
MILLER THOMSON LLP
Barristers & Solicitors
Patent & Trade-Mark Agents



The All-New
kidney.ca



We're behind you all the way.



Thank you

Your generosity allows us to provide world-class research support, outstanding outreach programs, and valuable services to the more than 3 million Canadians living with diabetes.

With your continued support, we can win the fight against diabetes.

Imagine Canada Ethical Code
Canadian Diabetes Association

diabetes.ca
1-800 BANTING (226-8464)

Tax Incentives for Giving

In the 2007 Canada Survey of Giving, Volunteering and Participating, more than half of all donors indicated that they would increase their charitable giving if there were better tax credit incentives to do so. Current tax incentives for giving offer a tax credit of 15% on the first $200 donated and a tax credit of 29% on the amounts above $200.

To further stimulate a national culture of giving, Imagine Canada is proposing a stretch tax credit that would apply to donated amounts above $200 that exceed a donor's previous highest giving level. The stretch tax credit would benefit charities of every size and in every region and should, over time, broaden the base and increase the giving levels of Canadians across the country. For more detailed information on the proposed stretch tax credit, visit the public policy section of our website at www.imaginecanada.ca

How to Give

So, you've identified the cause you want to support and the charity or charities that you are going to invest in. Now what? The giving options are many and it is up to you how and how much you are going to donate. Here are some considerations:

Make an annual donation to an organization or organizations whose cause you believe in. By providing a regular contribution, you are helping the organization sustain itself, focus on its core mission, and reduce the time it needs to spend on fundraising.

Make a monthly donation which may allow you to contribute a larger amount as you will be amortizing it over the course of the year.

Attend a fundraising event. With this approach you can support a charity in more ways than one. In addition to raising funds that flow to programs and services, these kinds of public events are instrumental

Where to Give

A Profile of Canada's Charitable Sector

With more than 84,700 charities in Canada, this sector is large, diverse and vibrant. When combined with nonprofit organizations, the numbers reach 161,000, making our nonprofit sector the second largest in the world.

These key community organizations weave an intricate web of supports and services that touch the lives of all Canadians and shape our country's identity and values. From local sports clubs to environmental cleanup initiatives, art galleries to crisis phone lines, nonprofits are driven by a mission to serve the public good.

Which organizations to support and how is your decision alone. But to help you in the process, here is a brief overview of the range of work carried out in this vital sector.



Arts & Culture
Dance, music, theatre, visual arts, craft, film, writing, architecture and design – these are just some of the forms of creative expression that are nourished by arts and culture organizations. Through this work our unique stories are told and our shared cultural identity is preserved and celebrated.

Education
Education is one of the ways that our society intentionally passes on its accumulated knowledge, skills and values from one generation to the next – where many of the seeds of invention and innovation are planted. Educational institutions include pre-schools, elementary, primary, secondary, technical and vocational, continuing education, colleges and universities.

Environment
Preserving our natural spaces and species drives the work of environmental organizations. From river restoration, to urban greening initiatives to animal welfare, these organizations ensure the health and longevity of our ecosystems.

Health
Nonprofit hospitals, nursing homes, community health centres, and other providers are integral to the physical and mental health for each of us, our family, friends and other individuals in our communities. They are there for crisis intervention, rehabilitation, emergencies as well as promoting public health and wellness education.

Human and Social Services
Human and social service organizations deliver specialized supports and services to meet a broad range of community needs. Target populations they serve include children, youth, families, the elderly and the economically disadvantaged.

International Development
These organizations embrace the global community and range in mission from those that encourage mutual respect and international friendships, social and economic development, promotion and monitoring of human rights in addition to providing aid during times of disaster or emergency.

Sports & Recreation
Keeping Canadians physically active is the main goal of sports and recreation organizations. Whether it's on the lawn bowling court or at the skateboard park, these organizations ensure that there are a wide range of opportunities for active living and building skills, leadership, teamwork and self-esteem.

This Thanks & Giving supplement is an initiative of Imagine Canada to encourage philanthropic giving in Canada

Thanks & Giving Partners:

Imagine Canada

CanadaHelps.org Giving made simple

MACLEAN'S

in a charity's efforts to promote its work, thereby building a stronger support base In other words, your support will help leverage other support, resulting in greater reach for the charity's efforts And you have the added bonus of a good time with friends and family

Buy a product where proceeds go to a registered charity. Many businesses are engaged in cause related marketing, through which a portion of their product or service sales goes to a cause This can be a lucrative source of support for charities

Attend a cultural or sporting event. Inviting the public to experience art or sport is core to their missions while also being a major source of income Your support given in this way is a win/win.

Donate stock or appreciated securities. A relatively new way to give and reduce your taxes at the same time For more information, please contact the Charities Directorate at Revenue Canada or consult with a financial advisor on this and other giving options such as donations of real estate, cultural property, or to leave a lasting legacy through your will

Volunteer. Charities are highly efficient organizations able to tap into all kinds of support Giving your valuable time extends the work of a charity at very little cost while also giving back to the volunteer in countless other ways You can also combine your giving and volunteering by fundraising on behalf of a cause

Checks & Balances

How can I feel confident that my donation will be well spent?

You should feel free to do your own research in order to reach a comfort level with the charity or cause of your choice Most charities have websites and, as public-facing organizations, they are inclined toward transparency in their operations Look for a list of their board of directors and staff (if they have any) to see who's involved, and you can also download their annual report to find out how they receive and spend their funds and what kinds of annual activities they engage in

Reputable charities will be happy to answer any questions you have Send them an email, call or ask to visit them on site Your donation is an important source of income and a show of support for the good work they are doing in the community

If you still have concerns, there are some third party organizations that might help alleviate them.

Charities are regulated by the federal government through the Charities Directorate at the Canada Revenue Agency (CRA) While the CRA cannot do detailed reviews of each of the more than 80,000 charities that operate in Canada, they do set guidelines, require annual submissions and do random audits If you have concerns that a charity may not be registered, you can easily verify this online

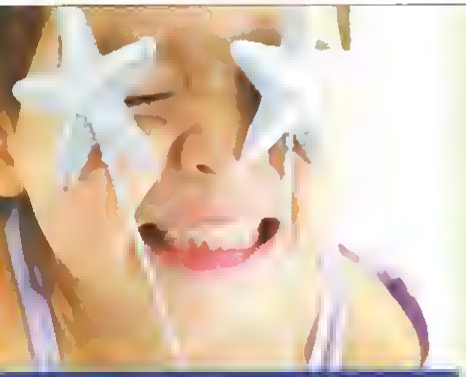
There are also mechanisms within the nonprofit sector that exist to promote high standards and protect the interests of donors

Imagine Canada, the national umbrella for the country's nonprofits, operates the Ethical Code, a donor assurance program that establishes standards of good practice in fundraising and financial accountability Check to see if your charity is a member and if not, ask them why

As well, professional fundraisers are moderating themselves through a formal accreditation process and set of ethical practices If your charity employs professional fundraisers you might consider inquiring as to whether or not they are members of the Association of Fundraising Professionals

Above all, keep in mind that you are never obliged to give Your gift is voluntary and should stem from your confidence in a charity to steward your donation and ensure it has the greatest impact possible





MAKE-A-WISH Canada

To find out how to share the power of a wish® visit www.makeawish.ca

When you wish upon a star...

The Make-A-Wish Foundation® of Canada thanks our **National Corporate Stars** for their generous contributions of more than $100 000 towards our magical wish-granting efforts

With strong corporate and individual support, we will continue our 26 year tradition of granting wishes to children with life-threatening medical conditions to enrich the human experience with hope strength and joy

"My child remembers very little about the three years of harsh medical treatments yet remembers every single detail about her wish Thank you
Tammy | Wish Mom

Thank you to our generous Make-A-Wish Canada Supporters

Disney · Give Kids The World Village · WestJet Cares for Kids · Boys & Girls Clubs of Canada Charitable Foundation · The Happy Foot · Audio Video · HDS Retail North America · IKEA Any space can be beautiful.



GlaxoSmithKline — Investing in Communities for 20 Years

GlaxoSmithKline (GSK) is proud to be an Imagine Caring Company. Through The GlaxoSmithKline Foundation and other corporate responsibility initiatives, GSK annually donates a minimum of one per cent of its pre-tax profits to charitable organizations.

Since 1989, The GlaxoSmithKline Foundation has been making a positive difference in the lives of Canadians by providing grants to registered charities whose work focuses on:

- Health Care & Health Promotion
- HIV/AIDS
- Hospice Palliative Care
- Science Education

Helping people do more, feel better and live longer
www.gsk.ca

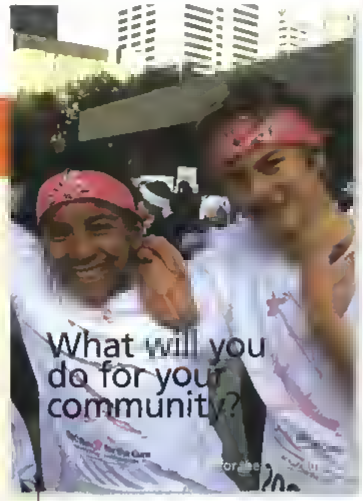
The GlaxoSmithKline Foundation · Imagine Caring Company · gsk GlaxoSmithKline

Some Resources for Donors and Volunteers

Imagine Canada's Ethical Code – http //www imaginecanada ca/ethicalcode
Association of Fundraising Professionals' Fundraising Code of Ethics – http //www afpnet org/ethics
Canada Revenue Agency, the Federal Government Regulator – http //www cra-arc gc ca/tx/chrts/menu-eng html
CanadaHelps, the portal for online giving – www CanadaHelps org
Community Foundations of Canada – www cfc-fcc ca
Leave a Legacy, advice on giving through your will www leavealegacy ca
Philanthropic Foundations of Canada - http //www pfc ca
Volunteer Canada, the national leader on volunteerism - http//volunteer ca

Top 10 Giving Ideas

1. Take your children to an outdoor clean-up initiative so they can experience firsthand the satisfaction of contributing their time and effort to a worthwhile cause.
2. Focus your giving on issues and organizations that are connected When you tally your various contributions, you'll see the cumulative impact of your giving on a cause that is meaningful to you
3. Encourage charitable donations instead of gifts at children's and adults' birthday parties
4. Slip some cash inside birthday cards for friends or family, asking that they donate them to the charity of their choice
5. Hold a rummage sale or get your kids to operate a lemonade stand and give the proceeds to a local charity.
6. Give as a family or group of friends by pooling your resources to make a bigger impact
7. Make gourmet coffee in the office everyday for a week for your colleagues and ask them to donate what they would have spent at the coffee shop to your charity or charities
8. Leave the car at home for a month and give what you would have spent on gas to your favourite organization
9. Set up your own Giving Page with Canadahelps org and inspire your friends, family and colleagues to donate
10. Keep a giving file with direct mail solicitations, newspaper articles, or anything that inspires you to support a given charity or cause. Take it out every Thanksgiving and pick which organization(s) will receive your Thanks & Giving donation(s)



What does community mean to you?

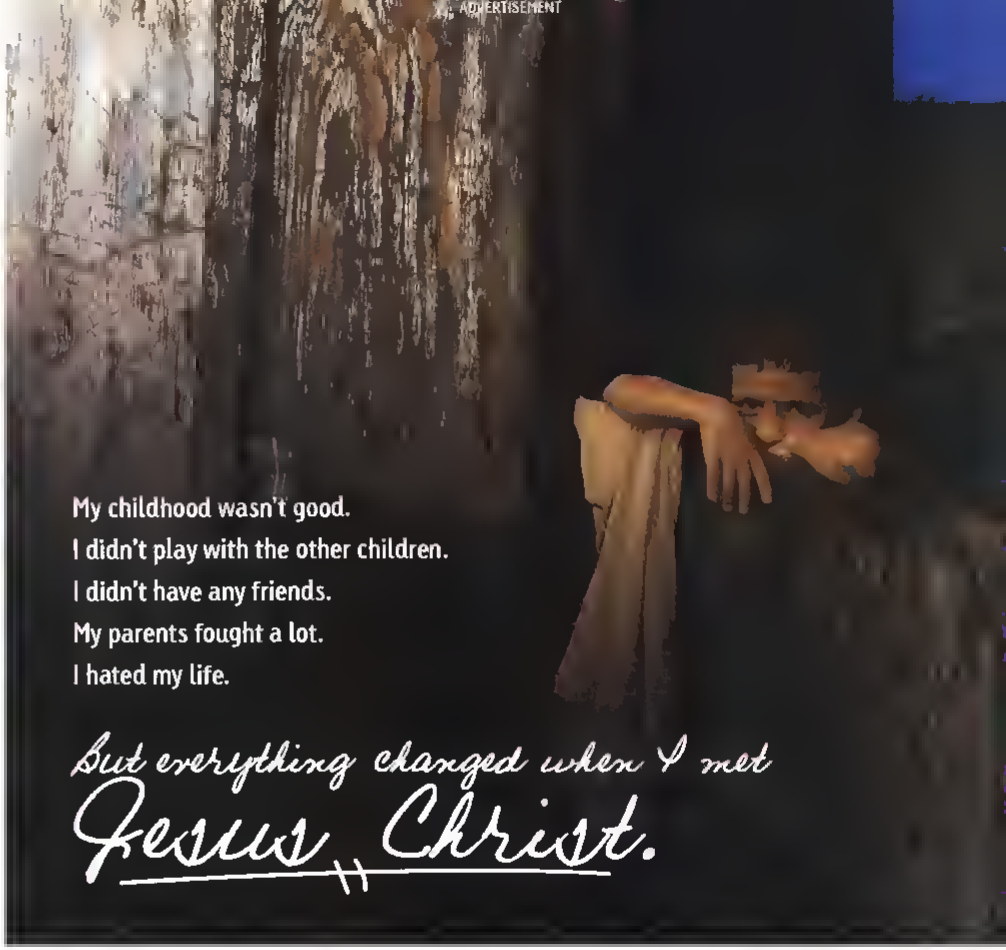
The Canadians we've profiled here have found their own unique and meaningful ways to give back to their communities Some give their time Some give financially And others elect to take action and mobilize their friends, family and neighbours to join them

What will you do for your community?

We hope these stories from regular Canadians will give you a place to start So, this Thanksgiving when you're gathering with friends and family, remember to give thanks by giving back to the community organizations that make Canada strong

Go to:
www.canadahelps.org and make your donation today!

ADVERTISEMENT



Poverty needs an eternal solution. It's a problem that seems overwhelming—too big for anyone to really make a difference. But a difference is possible.

Meet Átila, a 16-year-old boy from Bom Jardim, Brazil—a boy who grew up in abject poverty

Life is hard in Bom Jardim, a coastal community near Fortaleza, Brazil Most adults are unable to find employment, but some scrape out a paltry wage working as manual labourers and street vendors. In the midst of crushing poverty and disease, families find it difficult to maintain a shred of hope Átila's family is no exception



The living room of his family's small three-room house acts as his bedroom and a store where his mother sells candy and eggs to earn a meager income. As a young boy, he watched helplessly as his alcoholic father argued endlessly with his mother. Átila grew emotionally distant, escaping into a dream world of his own, built on his fears, questions and dreams, desperately looking for meaning in life.

At four years old, Átila was enrolled at the Projeto José Henrique Student Centre, a Compassion project run in partnership with Fortaleza Presbyterian Church. There, he developed into a gifted student, learning to read before any of the other children his age. Although he excelled academically, making friends was far from being his highest priority.

"Playing with the other children was not my favorite thing – I used to run away from group activities," recalls Átila. His attitude grew worse, escalating to the point that he wanted to leave the program altogether. "My behaviour made me lonely and confused... I was depriving myself of happiness." Evani Arraes, the project director, saw through Átila's request and refused to let him leave. She wasn't ready to give up on him, even if he was. She saw that there was so much more in store for Átila, even though he couldn't.

His emotional distance grew to despair, and Átila began to desperately desire change.

Change came for Átila in 2006, when he was introduced to Jesus Christ and became a Christian. "Thousands of people told me about Jesus at the child centre, but I wasn't open-minded about it. I started to become interested in Jesus when Pastor Ricardo [Teixeira, of Fortaleza Presbyterian] showed me an intelligent Jesus. I started to study His teaching about how to live among people, loving your neighbour, and I realized that there was something different about him," says Átila.

He joined the church and began to see that same difference in the people at the Compassion project—the people who loved him dearly, despite his rejecting their affection. As he saw the difference Jesus made in the lives of the men and women at the project, Átila's heart began to change. He saw that God had given him an opportunity for a new life.



Instead of being distant, he grew close to the mentors and teachers at the project. As a teacher's aid in the Art and English classes, he began sharing his knowledge with the other students. "I stopped being so selfish and started helping the other children."

The formerly shy and depressed young man found that he loves something previously unimaginable: Drama. "If I can act in a play in front of dozens of people, I can do anything," he declares confidently.

Today, Átila is a new man. His relationship with his parents has improved. God has given him love and mercy for his alcoholic father and a friendship with his mother. His mother, who has joined her son at Fortaleza Presbyterian, beams, "I want all his dreams to come true. I know he can do anything."

ADVERTISEMENT



"God has shown me His immeasurable love. He converted my arrogance to humility, and transformed my mind. But, I am not an example. I don't deserve a single blessing God gave me."

His dream: Becoming a psychologist and social worker.

Átila is a trainee at a non-profit organization and helping transform the lives of children living in desperate poverty. "Social work is my life, and doing something for my community, for this child centre that helped and still helps me, that's what I want to do," he says.

"God has shown me His immeasurable love. He converted my arrogance to humility, and transformed my mind. But, I am not an example. I don't deserve a single blessing God gave me. [I believe] God has great plans for our lives. I have many things to do, to see, and to feel. And what assures me that I will face everything successfully, is the fact that I will never be alone, because he has shown me Jesus, my best friend."

By Bianka Costa, Compassion Brazil, with Aaron Armstrong, Compassion Canada

Poverty has an Eternal Solution.
THE DIFFERENCE IN ATILA'S LIFE IS MORE THAN
EDUCATION, HEALTHCARE AND SOCIAL PROGRAMS
THE DIFFERENCE IS
JESUS
EXPERIENCE THE DIFFERENCE
TheDifferenceisJesus.com
Compassion

Continued from page 26

more divisiveness on assertiveness in foreign policy, on environmental issues. Our polls suggest that Republicans have grown much more conservative in recent years." The second trend is a growing alienation of grassroots America from Washington and the two party system. One striking result is that more people identify as "independents" than at any time since 1992, when a strong independent candidate, Ross Perot, ran for president. "We have been tracking for a long time a growing divisiveness in American politics and a growing frustration with the federal government and the way politics is done," Dimock says. "Maybe it was always there, but it has gotten a lot more intense in recent years," he adds.

The growth in divisions between Republicans and Democrats does not mean, however, that Democrats are becoming more liberal—another obstacle for Obama's agenda. On the contrary, when Pew did a major survey on Americans' values in May, they realized it was a major misperception that Obama's election was a vote for a bigger role for government.

In fact, fewer Democrats supported government borrowing to support a social safety net than had two years earlier. "On virtually every question on the role of government we saw the numbers keep steady or decline, especially on the social safety net, which is remarkable in a time of economic crisis," Dimock says. "Even on regulation, in light of the failure of financial regulation, there was no huge decline in basic belief [among Democrats and Americans at large] that the free market is essential. There was no sea change in liberal direction with Obama's election. Skepticism of government only grew with the crisis." As a result, there has been no populist pro-government wave for Obama to ride.

Obama has so far not been as confrontational with his opponents as Bill Clinton, who gambled on a stand-off with Republicans in 1995 over a budget dispute, in which their filibustering shut down the government and hurt the GOP's image with voters. "If Obama was more confrontational he might just say, okay, filibuster, talk yourself to death and we'll see how the population responds to your holding up the government," says Ribuffo. But Ribuffo also notes that Obama does not need to unite the country behind his agenda to get it done. "It's a myth that important legislation gets passed when the country is united," he says. "It gets passed when one group has a manageable majority and the minority is complaining. That was the case with Social Security under Roosevelt and with tax cuts under Reagan."

In fact, several recent polls show Obama's favourability ratings stabilizing. "The people who are put off by the nature of the health care bill formed their opinions early on and the impact has happened by now," says Dimock. "Obama is not losing more people over health care anymore. Those people were turned away in July and August. The vast majority of Americans want to see health care reforms. Whether they are comfortable with the details is contestable, but he still does have the basic balance of public opinion on his side when he stands before Congress and says he wants something done this year." Obama may not be able to claim he has unified the nation, but, at least for now, he doesn't need to. M



REPUBLICANS claim that Obama's 'borrow-and-spend' policies will triple the debt

SAUL LOEB/GETTY

BILL'S BACKSTAGE MOMENTS

A book on the Clinton presidency offers an insider's look into the White House

BY JONATHON GATEHOUSE • Journalists write the first draft of history. Bill Clinton provided the second—and subsequent revisions—with his 957-page autobiography, *My Life*, in 2004. Now we get the footnotes.

Taylor Branch's thick new book, *The Clinton Tapes. Wrestling History with the President*, is the product of more than 80 free-form conversations the Pulitzer prize-winning author recorded with the former U.S. commander-in-chief during his eight years in office. Intimate, often late-night bull sessions between two old friends (Clinton, Branch and Hillary all worked together on George McGovern's 1972 Democratic campaign), the semi-regular chats were an effort to capture the details of White House deliberations, crises and victories while they were still fresh. Not so much the period's great events, as its backstage moments.

Branch's status as an insider provides fascinating glimpses of a very unimperial presidency—Clinton at the breakfast table in a hoodie and boxer shorts, attended by two butlers; Hillary rummaging through closets in her bathrobe and curlers, a president trying to help his teenage daughter with her English homework (an essay on Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*) between phone calls of condolence over the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing.

And he captured some prescient insights for posterity. "I think this is what the 21st century is going to be about, how freedom will survive all of these pressures where it's never really been tested," Clinton says trying to explain a bad vibe he picked up during a 1993 visit to Russia and eastern Europe. "Democracy may make it there. But you begin to feel why patterns of history repeat themselves." (A pessimism over the new leaders of the former Soviet bloc that seemed to be borne out by a subsequent September 1994 visit to Wash-

ington by then-Russian president Boris Yeltsin. Clinton tells Branch how Secret Service agents, responding to a security alarm in the wee hours, discovered a drunken Yeltsin standing in his underwear on Pennsylvania Avenue outside the White House, bellowing for a taxi. (He apparently wanted a pizza.)

The unscripted chats—Branch suggested topics to jog Clinton's memory, but the president controlled the conversation—also produced some wicked asides about other world leaders. Syrian strongman Hafez al-Assad despised Yasser Arafat as "a bumbling nomad." France's François Mitterrand blocked U.S. efforts to lift an international arms embargo on Bosnia with a blunt assessment that a Muslim nation "did not belong" in Europe. And there was Clinton's own distaste for Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the then-United Nations secretary general, the president felt that the Egyptian diplomat had suckered him into the Somalian mission that resulted in the deaths of 19 Army Rangers, as chronicled in the book and movie *Black Hawk Down*. Boutros-Ghali "had a hard-on" for Somalian warlord Gen. Mohamed Farah Aidid, Clinton opined, and hoped the Americans would avenge the deaths of 24 Pakistani UN peacekeepers.

There are also telling moments away from the cameras and microphones. Like the story of the Israeli and Palestinian delegations standing on opposite sides of the White House's Blue Room in the moments before the official signing of the 1993 Oslo accords, refusing to engage even when vice-president Al Gore tried to jump-start a conversation. And the frantic efforts to preplan the famous handshake between Israel's Yitzhak Rabin and Arafat with a resulting gesture—both men placing their left hands on the other's right shoulder—that looked friendly but was specifically designed to stop the PLO leader from leaning in for an Arab-style cheek kiss. But just two years later, at another White House ceremony for the signing of an interim peace agreement, the two men sat in the Oval Office joking about one day living in the same neighbourhood, and their shared genetic "cousinship." When Rabin was felled by an assassin's bullets in November 1995, Clinton explains how he spent an anxious hour pacing the White House putting green awaiting word on his friend's fate. When a stone-faced national security adviser strode toward him, he knew, and the U.S. president broke down and wept.

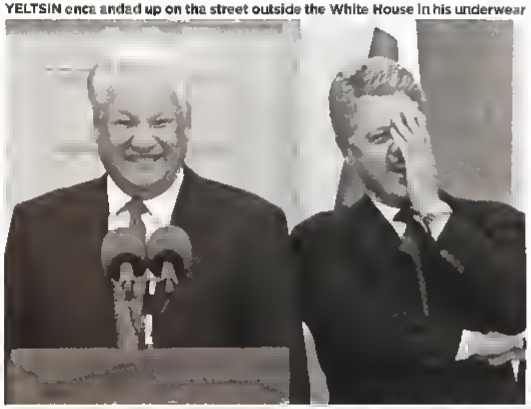
But the book is something well short of an authoritative history. Branch fully acknowledges his own compromised role (the author of a highly regarded three-volume biography of Martin Luther King Jr., he wasn't just a friend of the president's, but an occasional speech writer and sometime envoy), and the frustrating limitations of their arrangement. The sessions, the first White House tapes since Watergate, were more monologues than interviews. And many momentous topics were barely broached. A session taped in the early days of the Rwandan genocide captured Clinton's passing observation that the death toll might be higher than CNN is reporting, but there was no follow-up. (In fact, much of the conversation was devoted to a round of golf the president played with PGA stalwart Raymond Floyd.) Osama bin Laden makes two brief cameo appearances, first mentioned as the mastermind behind the bombings of U.S. embassies in East Africa, and later, the author of a plot to kill the president during an East Asian visit in early 2000. (On CIA advice, Clinton cancelled one helicopter foray to a Bangladeshi village. And a decoy plane, painted to resemble Air Force One and empty but for the pilots, was sent ahead to Pakistan to flush out a missile attack. The president landed later in a small, unmarked plane.) But there is little sense of whether Clinton appreciated the looming al-Qaeda threat.

And the scandals that dominated the Clinton years are mostly in the background. Discussions about Whitewater were strictly limited for fear the tapes would fall victim to a Ken Starr subpoena. (Clinton does allow that his decision to acquiesce to political pressure and appoint the special prosecutor early in his first term was the "biggest mistake of his presidency.") The affair with Monica Lewinsky that led to impeachment proceedings merits only a few short pages. There are details of an angry post-2000 election meeting with Al Gore, the vice-president demanded an explanation for the intern dalliance, but never got it. "There is little to say, Clinton replied, beyond failure and regret."

Branch himself still clearly struggles to put his friend's dark side in perspective, likening it to Martin Luther King's "tension between the public and private morality." In the great civil rights leader's case, a guilty conscience over his extramarital affairs "drove him to seek penance in deeds of historic sacrifice," he writes. But Clinton's parallel reparations—if they exist—remain unrecorded.

What the reader is left with is that gulf between the great politician—empathetic and engaged like few others—and the private man. It's a chasm reflected in Clinton's at once admirable and odd ability to dispassionately rise above the fray, even when the fray is all about him. In February 1995, Branch arrived at the White House to find staffers gearing up to fight "bimbo revelations" in a new biography by *Washington Post* writer David Maraniss. In his private office, Clinton had an advance copy of the book on his desk, thick with 30 or 40 paperclip-marked pages. Branch asked the president if those were the bits he objected to. No, came the reply, those are the passages I like. M

YELTSIN once ended up on the street outside the White House in his underwear



JIM MCKNIGHT/CP

AL GORE NEVER GOT AN EXPLANATION ABOUT MONICA LEWINSKY

THE ISSUE IN...

BRITAIN — A BAD BUNCH OF BANANAS

Thousands of banana peels left behind by hikers are spoiling Ben Nevis, Britain's highest peak, according to conservationists. The rubbish, which decomposes slowly because of cold temperatures at the summit, makes up more than half of all litter collected from the mountain. To save the once-pristine peak, hikers are being reminded that banana skins are still litter and also that everything they carry up must be carried right back down.

Hezbollah embarrassed by fraudster

BY JEN CUTTS • Add Salah Ezzedine to the growing list of fallen financiers around the world. On Sept. 12, Lebanese authorities charged the prominent billionaire with fraud, after hundreds of millions of investors' savings disappeared in an alleged Ponzi scheme. Ezzedine could be facing up to 15 years in prison. The amount of money that Ezzedine squandered is astonishing. More intriguing, though, is the roll of clients whom he defrauded.



NEWSCOM/CP

Local press have dubbed Salah Ezzedine the 'Lebanese Madoff'

Ezzedine declared bankruptcy in late August, but his troubles started in earnest after he bounced a $200,000 cheque made out to Hussein Hajj Hassan, a Hezbollah MP and adviser to the party's leader, Hassan Nasrallah. The disgraced businessman, who has been dubbed the "Lebanese Madoff" by local media, is said to have personal ties to senior leaders in the powerful Shiite movement (two of his businesses were named after Nasrallah's late son, Hadi). Many investors—mainly Shiites from Beirut and villages in southern Lebanon—trusted their money to Ezzedine precisely because of his close ties to Hezbollah. They believed they were in good hands, and disregarded the fact that Ezzedine provided no research or paperwork to back up his promise of up to 40 per cent returns on investments in oil, metals and other commodities.

Prior to these revelations, Ezzedine, 49, was known as a charitable and religious man. After making millions in oil, he built a stadium and a mosque in his hometown near Toura. (As many as 250 of the 5,000 residents there trusted him with their savings.) Ezzedine's scheme is a major PR embarrassment for Hezbollah, an organization that claims a reputation for honesty and integrity built in part because of its extensive social work in Lebanon. Nasrallah initially denied his party had any official dealings with Ezzedine. His more recent promise to set up a "crisis network" to calculate losses may suggest otherwise. M

In Mexico, a new murder mystery

BY TOM HENHEFFER • Renee Wathelet quit her job as an investment counsellor and moved to the island paradise of her dreams—Isla Mujeres, Mexico—last May. Every morning, she would sit on the sandy beach, listening to waves and thinking about her friends back home in Montreal. It was exactly how the 60-year-old grandmother wanted to spend her twilight years.

Last week, she was found dead in her condo, her throat slit and her body stabbed multiple times.

Wathelet is the latest victim in a string of violent crimes committed against Canadians in Mexico. Three B.C. men were shot, one fatally, in Cabo San Lucas this year. In 2006, Ontario couple Domenic and Nancy Iannero were murdered at a luxury resort near Playa del Carmen. At least two other Canadians have died under suspicious circumstances in the country in the last three years.

Mexico is in the middle of a massive drug war that has led to mass murders, decapitations of police officers, and shootings that have spilled into tourist destinations. But travel operators and the Canadian government still say the country is a safe place for tourists. Denise Brown, director of the Latin American Studies program at the University of Calgary, agrees. She says over a million Canadians travel to Mexico every year—so while any death is terrible, six aren't very frightening, statistically speaking.



Wathelet moved last May. She was found dead in her condo last week.

Still, there are steps you can take to stay safe. Brown says that Canadians tend to let their guard down in Mexico, something people should avoid in any foreign country. "We feel kind of like it's home. What happens when you're at home is that you may be a little bit less wary, a little bit less careful, a little bit more trusting."

Sometimes tragedy simply can't be avoided, says Brown, but the best way to stay safe is to simply be cautious. "When you're in a foreign country, you have to be extra careful—with who you're talking to, with who you're drinking with, because you're not a local." M

Nazi scandal hits human rights group

BY KATIE ENGELHART • A Sept. 8 post on the pro-Israel blog *Mere Rhetoric* outed Marc Garlasco, a senior military analyst at Human Rights Watch (HRW), as an avid collector of Nazi memorabilia. The report, published by blogger Omri Ceren, accused Garlasco of being "Nazi-obsessed" and of holding "anti-Israeli biases." HRW initially dismissed Ceren's claims and threw its full support behind Garlasco, who has written articles critical of the Israel Defense Forces for the organization. But last Monday HRW suspended Garlasco without pay "pending an investigation."



Garlasco has also written a book about Nazi-era medals

Garlasco is an avid collector of Third Reich articles. *Mere Rhetoric* quoted his zealous postings on collector sites, including, "The leather SS jacket makes my blood go cold it is so COOL!" According to Ceren, Garlasco operated online under the handle "Flak88"—a reference to the 88mm German anti-aircraft gun, or perhaps the Nazi rallying cry "Heil Hitler" (H is the eighth letter of the alphabet). Garlasco has also written a 400-plus-page book about Nazi-era medals, titled *The Flak Badges of the Luftwaffe and Heer*.

Garlasco insists he is being pilloried by the pro-Israel lobby, and that his interest in the far right is simply a product of his passion for wartime history. In a response on the *Huffington Post*, he explained that his fascination with war souvenirs was inspired by his German grandfather, who was conscripted to fight in the war. "I'm a military geek," he wrote. "I've never hidden my hobby, — precisely because it's so obvious that the Nazis were evil."

For HRW, the timing of the expose could not be worse. The group has thrown its weight behind the UN-sponsored Goldstone report, which accuses both Israel and the Palestinians of committing war crimes in the Gaza strip earlier this year. Garlasco's actions will surely lead many to question the group's credibility, according to HRW Middle East advisory committee member Helena Cobban, "[HRW's critics] have been given this *deus ex machina* gift about the discovery of Garlasco and his out-of-hours hobby." M



WHY BALSILLIE WENT BALLISTIC

RIM's billionaire boss has been shut out of the NHL. Is the league to blame—or is he?

BY CHARLIE GILLIS AND MICHAEL FRISCOLANTI

Craig Leipold is not the sort of man who shoots off his mouth. Even before he joined the cloistered ranks of the National Hockey League as owner of the Nashville Predators, the sandy-haired entrepreneur from Racine, Wisc., had carved a reputation for discretion—a virtue no doubt learned from his in-laws. Leipold's wife happens to be Helen Johnson of S.C. Johnson & Company fame, and while her husband long ago proved his business bona fides, Leipold's social station speaks for itself. You don't gain entry into one of America's most venerable families by waging unseemly personal battles.

But when the subject of Jim Balsillie comes up, as it did during a deposition hearing last month, Leipold's customary reserve flies out the window. Now the owner of the Minnesota Wild, Leipold was testifying as part of the high-profile bankruptcy proceedings of the Phoenix Coyotes, recalling the six months of fractured negotiations in 2007 when he'd tried to sell the Predators to Balsillie. For two years, Leipold had kept his feelings about the quixotic Canadian billionaire largely to himself. Now, from his lawyer's Main Street offices in Racine, he was about to pound a rhetorical stake through Balsillie's reputation.

"He's untrustworthy. He's deceiving. He's arrogant. He's a person who doesn't know how to be a partner in our business," Leipold testified. "When there is someone that you have dealt with and that has lied to you continually, that has deceived you—knowing that he was going to deceive you at the end—that is a pretty good reason to dislike him. Yes, it is true. I do dislike the man."

At some points his tirade turned ominous. "This is the way [Balsillie] operates. He operates by threats, by innuendos, by phone calls to people. Quiet phone calls, and you can connect the dots." But mostly it revolved around what Leipold viewed as Balsillie's rank capriciousness. "This is a person," he said, "I could never support as an owner."

How things have changed. This was the same Craig Leipold, recall, who'd gone to bat for the Research in Motion magnate back in 2007 in hopes of completing his deal, scrambling to assuage the suspicions of NHL commissioner Gary Bettman and coaching the Canadian on how best to navigate the Byzantine initiation process of league ownership. Initially, Leipold had even contemplated retaining a minority stake in the Predators so he could work with Balsillie. That the mild-mannered Wisconsin has since sunk so far into vitriol speaks to his disappointment at a failed mega deal. But it also illustrates something many Canadian hockey fans are loath to consider: that Balsillie has fumbled three attempts to acquire an NHL franchise, and fumbled them badly.

Such a view diverges, of course, from a popular narrative here in Canada, in which the NHL's resolute opposition to locating a second team in southern Ontario has driven Balsillie to ever more desperate measures. The multi-billionaire and his agents have fed that story with messianic enthusiasm, granting friendly reporters access to the dressing room for his pickup games, and launching a website aimed at stoking our offended patriotism. "My motivations are simple," he proclaimed in a recent affidavit. "They are my love of the game of hockey, my repeatedly demonstrated commitment to Canada and southern Ontario, and my strong belief that the community of southern Ontario, the game of hockey and Canada will benefit from

a seventh NHL franchise"

But in recent weeks, another narrative has arisen from the mountain of court documents filed in Phoenix, pointing to something more visceral than mere jingoism, or passion for a game. What started five years ago as a sincere desire to join the club of NHL owners has mutated into full-blown obsession, prompting Balsillie to take actions no rational business person could imagine succeeding. To be sure, he's been pushed. From the outset, the league and its combative commissioner, Bettman, have treated the Canadian tycoon with suspicion, they've never been completely forthright about their reasons for resisting an NHL team in Hamilton (the prospect of confrontation with the mighty Toronto Maple Leafs). But the best deal makers learn from their mistakes, and in this case, Balsillie hasn't. Far from building support among potential allies, he has left behind a list of powerful enemies who want nothing more than to see him fail. Again.

There was a time, believe it or not, when Jim Balsillie wanted nothing more than to keep his NHL fantasies a secret. Back in 2003, years before he tried to use a bankruptcy spat to smuggle the Phoenix Coyotes into Hamilton, he was the silent partner (i.e. driving force) behind another, much smaller enterprise. HHC Acquisition Corp. The company was created for one reason—to bring a National Hockey League franchise to Steeltown—but Balsillie, the man holding the purse strings, was anxious to avoid the spotlight. So anxious, in fact, that he set up a second company (2039802 Ontario Inc.) to funnel his investments to HHC. As one of his lawyers later wrote, the goal "was to keep Jim one step removed" and "to protect his privacy."

There was also a time, believe it or not, when Jim Balsillie exchanged civil pleasantries—and cellphone numbers—with Bettman, now his arch-nemesis. At their first formal meeting, a New York sit-down on March 28, 2006, the BlackBerry boss shared his top secret dreams for a hockey team in southern Ontario. Accompanied by his bulldog attorney, Richard Rodier, Balsillie told Bettman that HHC had already secured a lease agreement for Copps Coliseum, and that he was willing to reach into his own deep pockets to renovate the ill-fated arena. The commissioner, though, was not impressed. The region simply cannot support another franchise, he said, even if the rink does get a much-needed facelift.

Instead, Bettman looked across the table and suggested another option. *What about Pittsburgh? The Penguins are still for sale.*

And so it began. Jim Balsillie's gradual, improbable plunge from wealthy, wannabe owner to NHL pariah.

Almost immediately, Balsillie's camp began negotiating a deal to buy the Penguins from a group that included scoring legend Mario Lemieux. Later that June, while Bettman was in B.C. for the annual entry draft, he received a surprise phone call from his new friend. "I was actually in the lobby of the Sheraton Wall Hotel in Vancouver, and he was on his way to either a bicycle trip or a bicycle race," Bettman recalled, testifying this summer at his own deposition. "And he said to me 'I need some advice. I'm not sure what to do about these negotiations.' And I remember saying to him: 'Jim, unless you're prepared for the possibility that you will own the Penguins in Pittsburgh forever, you shouldn't buy the team.' And he said 'That's really good advice, I appreciate it.' And then he dropped out of the bidding."



LEIPOLD (above) testified at the Phoenix Coyotes' bankruptcy proceedings, a rendering of a revamped Copps Coliseum (right)

To Bettman, the message was crystal clear: Balsillie was still in love with his southern Ontario scenario—the same one they discussed on March 28—and he had no interest in owning a team south of the border.

Which is why, when Balsillie suddenly changed his mind and re-entered the Pittsburgh negotiations later that summer, Bettman became suspicious. "There was a real concern as to whether or not Mr. Balsillie was really going to try and work things out in Pittsburgh or try to figure out a way to extricate them and move them," he testified. "This was an issue relating to Mr. Balsillie's credibility. Did he mean what he said?"

What he said (or allegedly said, or allegedly didn't say) is now the stuff of sworn affidavits. But this much is certain: when the Penguins were on the market in 2006, the team was in desperate need of a new rink. At the same time, the state of Pennsylvania was in the process of granting a slots licence for a casino development in downtown Pittsburgh, and one of the bidders, Isle of Capri, had pledged to fork over US$290 million toward a new arena—but only if it won the casino licence. Any potential buyer, Balsillie included, would have to honour that arrangement and keep the Pens in town.





PREVIOUS PAGE: JOSHUA LOTT/REUTERS. THIS PAGE: NORM HALL/GETTY; CP; SANFORD MYERS/CP

Despite his Hamilton ambitions, Balsillie insists he was fully committed to staying put in Pittsburgh. On Aug. 29, 2006, during another sit-down with NHL brass, he threw his unequivocal support behind the Isle of Capri bid, and if that proposal fell through, he vowed to work diligently on a so-called "Plan B," which would include an undetermined blend of private, government and out-of-pocket funding. As for what transpired during the rest of the meeting, it depends on which side you believe.

At the heart of the now-disputed storylines is the league's so-called "seven-year" clause, a standard rule that prohibits a new owner from immediately relocating his team. Balsillie, concerned that the stipulation would handcuff him during arena negotiations, says he was under the impression that Bettman agreed to waive the requirement. Bettman says no such discussions ever occurred.

Amid those mixed signals, negotiations picked up steam. By Oct. 4—the day before the season began—Balsillie and the Lemieux group had reached a tentative agreement worth US$175 million. All that was left was a rubberstamp from the NHL's other 29 owners. "I was thrilled and excited about the prospect of owning the Penguins," Balsillie testified in August, noting that his private jet could whisk him to a game in 45 minutes flat. "Of all the ironies, I could get to Pittsburgh faster than I could get to downtown Toronto for a Leafs game from my home in Waterloo."

To prove his commitment to the team, Balsillie even ordered HHC to cancel its lease option with Copps Coliseum.

But then came Dec. 4, 2006—the day of Balsillie's face-to-face interview with the executive committee of the NHL board of governors. As Balsillie recalled in his deposition, he considered it more of a meet-and-greet than anything else. "I thought they were just trying to size me up, really," he testified. "My sense of it is these people were just trying to get a sense of who I am, how I think, who they are dealing with, what kind of person I am." After the meeting, Balsillie shook some hands and boarded a plane for China. "I walked out and thought 'What a nice bunch of people. I am excited. We are going to get this done. We are going to win a Cup.'"

It turns out that the executive committee had a much different recollection. According to numerous statements filed in court, Balsillie promised during the interview to agree to a long list of provisions, including a promise to allow Bettman to take charge of negotiations with local politicians if arena talks stalled. Balsillie, the owners say, also agreed to give the league the option to buy the Penguins back if he ever threatened to relocate. The kicker? When the NHL subsequently forwarded Balsillie's lawyers a draft of the consent agreement, it also included the infamous seven-year clause.

Balsillie now says he agreed to none of those clauses. "Shock and surprise is an understatement," he later testified. "I pride myself in being a clear communicator and a consistent person in my business dealings, and I just can't see how I gave people representations that I was going to materially change my deal at the 11th hour for unnecessary reasons."

The league offered a compromise: it agreed to cut and paste the contentious clauses into a confidential side letter—and not the publicly available agreement—ensuring that Balsillie would maintain his negotiating leverage for a new arena. During an emergency conference call on Dec. 11, Bettman also asked an aggravated Balsillie to wait until the state ruled on the slots licence. (Remember, if the Isle of Capri came out on top, the arena problem would be solved and the legal wrangling over relocation clauses would be moot.)

But a few days after that phone call, Balsillie lost his patience. Convinced that the owners had tried to sneak in a slew of last-minute conditions, he pulled his offer for the Pittsburgh Penguins. "I deal with leaders of companies around the world," he would later testify. "And I have never in my business career had any experience remotely close to this where I had such a misunderstanding." In the words of one of his lawyers, the side letter was "insulting and unnecessary."

'He's deceiving. He's arrogant. He's a person who doesn't know how to be a partner in our business,' Leipold testified.

Mario Lemieux was equally appalled—"shocked and offended that Mr. Balsillie would back out of such an important deal." His fellow owners were just as livid, furious that he refused to put his promises to paper.

One person, though, was anything but shocked. Gary Bettman. "The fact that he wouldn't [sign on] to the various things he had agreed to with the executive committee told me two things," the commissioner testified this summer. "One: our suspicions that he had no intention of trying to keep the team in Pittsburgh had foundation to them. And two: once again he was saying things that were untrue. He wasn't standing behind his word."

Anyone who figured the Pittsburgh experience had crushed Balsillie's NHL dreams—and plenty of informed observers did—underestimated how long the RIM boss had been casing the league's lame duck franchises. Or the lengths he was willing to go to get one.

In March 2005, more than a year before he made his offer for the Penguins, city finance officials in Nashville had received a mysterious call from a man identifying himself as Balsillie's lawyer and making inquiries about the team's arena lease. The caller's name was Richard Rodier, and he said he wanted to know whether the Predators were in breach of an obscure clause in the deal requiring the team to maintain a net worth of more than $30 million—an amount intended to cover the city for money it had contributed for the Predators' NHL expansion fees, and for improvements to the Sommet Center.

David Manning, then the finance director for the city, says he didn't think much of Rodier's calls at the time. "It's my recollection that we were already aware of the net worth and lease issues," he told *Maclean's* in an email. Yet within weeks of the inquiries, the city embarked on a costly two-year legal battle against Leipold over the net worth issue, which saw the municipality withhold thousands of dollars that the club desperately needed. By early 2007, Leipold had lost $70 million operating the team, and was looking to sell. To the surprise of many, Jim Balsillie was on hand with a very generous offer.

Leipold knew nothing of the 2005 calls at the time. But he did know the Canadian billionaire would be a tough sell to Bettman and the rest of the NHL owners, with Pittsburgh so fresh in their memories. He also understood that Balsillie wanted to put a team in Hamilton. The Canadian's opening offer in February 2007 put everything on the table. It not only required the Predators to relocate to southern Ontario the following season, but for Leipold to get NHL consent for them to do so. It was, in short, a non-starter. Nashville's arena lease had a default provision allowing the city one season to try to boost average ticket sales back up to 14,000, which would keep the team in place. Any agreement to move the club before then would expose the league to severe criticism and probably legal action.

Yet there was too much money on the table for Leipold to walk away. "This $220-million offer is $50m MORE in cash at closing than Boots' offer," he wrote to Bettman in a late-night email, referring to a competing bid from Silicon Valley financier William "Boots" Del Biaggio. "I think it's something I need to pursue for that kind of valuation."

So Leipold set about trying to make both the offer and Balsillie acceptable to the NHL—if Balsillie was able to relocate the team after the deal closed, so much the better. For a while, Leipold seemed to be succeeding. By May 1, he says in documents filed in the Phoenix court, he'd persuaded Rodier to drop the demand to have relocation as part of the deal.

before closing, 11 days later, the Balsillie camp agreed to a new term sheet requiring them to sign the league's dreaded seven-year non-relocation clause and to put $10 million in escrow as a non-refundable deposit

Then, without warning, Balsillie changed his mind, and Leipold is still not entirely clear why. Balsillie has since said he feared what would happen if the city failed to reach the 14,000 ticket mark and the team found itself without an arena lease. "Before I wrote this $220-million cheque—and that's a big cheque—I needed to know," he said in his deposition. He also deemed the new terms to be last-minute changes all too reminiscent of his experience in Pittsburgh, according to Leipold, and was especially offended by the escrow demand (a spokesman for Balsillie said he was unavailable for comment).



BETTMAN denies that he ever agreed to waive the 'seven-year' clause for Balsillie

The better question, however, is why the RIM CEO agreed to the terms to begin with. Because at this point Balsillie seemed to snap, turning to tactics that were clearly designed to inflict maximum embarrassment on the NHL. On May 24, he left Leipold sitting alone at a press conference in Nashville to announce the sale of the Predators, while Balsillie's legal team set about rewriting the agreement on their own. The next day, Leipold received a revised purchase agreement from Balsillie's lawyers transferring all financial risk back to the American businessman if the team wasn't allowed to relocate. And that was just the beginning. One week later, at a meeting in Waterloo that Balsillie attended, Rodier began issuing veiled threats, Leipold alleges, suggesting the Predators' owner would soon find himself answering to the Canadian Competition Bureau should he refuse to close the deal on Balsillie's terms.

At the same meeting, Leipold testified, Rodier suggested that Leipold should sue the City of Nashville for bad faith negotiating over their lease. Under the cover of this litigation, said Leipold, the Balsillie team could "bring in trucks in the dead of night and move [the Predators] out of town." (Reached by phone this week, Rodier refused to comment on Leipold's allegations, saying only that he addressed the claims in his own deposition, however, that portion of his testimony is not available in the public court file.) The competition bureau did open an investigation that fall, calling Leipold to testify before concluding the league had not engaged in anti-competitive activity.

The Balsillie camp's most provocative move was yet to come. On June 14, the team began selling reservations for season tickets to fans in Hamilton, surpassing the Predators' 9,000-subscriber base in Nashville within 12 hours. Balsillie has said he did so to demonstrate support for the team. It now seems more an attempt to inflict damage on the Predators. Leipold revealed in his deposition that he had personally called Balsillie four days earlier to tell him the deal was off. So why sell the tickets if not to scare off fans in Nashville? "He didn't have an application pending to relocate," Bettman fumed during his own deposition in August. "He didn't even have a valid contract to buy the franchise. What he did here was completely out of line."

There was a time, believe it or not, when Balsillie and Bettman exchanged civil pleasantries—and cell numbers

Against this backdrop, it is hard to view Balsillie's recent attempt to gain control of the Phoenix Coyotes as anything less than a frontal attack—an opportunity to put the NHL on the public hot seat for a change. But the process has laid bare the worst of Balsillie's machinations, too. In Pittsburgh, he refused to put his signature where his mouth was. In Nashville, he used methods that seemed at best irrational, at worst underhanded. By the winter of 2009, when Balsillie first set his sights on the cash-starved Coyotes, even he realized there was only one real option left: getting a court to do what the NHL won't. "I spent five years looking for a front door," he told reporters in May. "I found a side door."

Or is he hell-bent on blowing up the entire building? In April, Balsillie struck a secret deal with Coyotes owner Jerry Moyes, who agreed to file for bankruptcy and then sell the team to Balsillie for US$212.5 million—on the sole condition that the club be moved to Hamilton. As part of the pact, Moyes launched an anti-trust lawsuit against the league, claiming the NHL was an "illegal cartel" and that the Toronto Maple Leafs have conspired to preserve "market power" in the GTA. If the other owners didn't despise Balsillie already, they certainly do now. "You're trying to join a group, and you don't join that group by making their life miserable," says Gabe Feldman, a sports law professor at Tulane University. "Balsillie has more than shot himself in the foot. He shot his entire leg off."

At least his intentions are clear this time around. Balsillie will buy the team only if he can move it north of the border. But after all he's said and done, transparency may not be enough. Redfield T. Baum, the judge overseeing the Coyotes bankruptcy, has repeatedly voiced reluctance to force a new partner on an unwilling sports league—much less the relocation of one of its franchises. Meantime, the owners have every reason to doubt Balsillie. Why did he lead the owners in Pittsburgh and Nashville to think he was willing to purchase and try operating their teams where they were? Why did he turn to bully tactics against Leipold when he didn't get his way? For NHL owners, it all comes down to the issue of trust. "We have just a tremendous amount of experience with Mr. Balsillie, and it hasn't been good," said Boston Bruins owner Jeremy Jacobs, testifying at his own deposition this summer. "His memory was very selective in how he construed things. He just wasn't somebody that we felt was really truthful and acceptable as a future partner."

A written declaration filed last month by the league is even more blunt. "There is something sad about Mr. Balsillie's inability to grasp the plain fact that it is his conduct, insensitivity, perceived lack of trustworthiness and unwillingness to accept responsibility for his own actions over several years that has caused the NHL Board of Governors to wish to not be associated with him in the business of professional hockey."

Such harsh words likely won't be enough to scare away Jim Balsillie. He is committed to his dream, and consumed by the desire to best the NHL once and for all. So consumed, in fact, that he's blinded to a paradox the rest of the world can see: the greater the lengths he goes to reach his prize, the further away it gets. M

You've lived through the greatest market change in 80 years. You've made adjustments, like taking your summer vacation in your backyard. But everyone enjoyed it together. Face today's challenges with knowledge and discipline. Invesco Trimark can arm you with the information you need at **knowingpays.ca**.



Invesco Trimark believes in the value of independent financial advice. Speak to your investment professional.

Invesco Trimark

ECONOWATCH

A WEEKLY SCORECARD ON THE STATE OF THE ECONOMY IN NORTH AMERICA AND BEYOND



STEVE MAICH

My colleague Paul Wells is fond of saying that when everyone in Ottawa knows something about federal politics, it invariably ends up to be false. While there's no doubt this is true, it's an affliction that is not unique to our nation's capital. It applies just as much to the economy.

Right now, the accepted truth on our immediate economic future goes like this: "Oh sure, the worst might be over, but this is probably just a sucker's rally. And even if we can avoid another nasty relapse on the markets, the recovery is going to be long, gruelling, and almost as bleak as the downturn itself." No doubt, there is a strong rationale to back up this hardening consensus. After all, job losses continue in both Canada and the U.S., and while consumer confidence is rising, it's still fragile. We are still bracing for the worst.

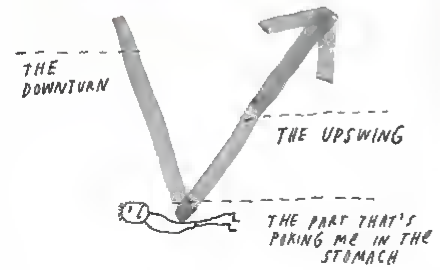
But the thing is, when everybody's expectations get hammered down to the point where we're all good and sombre, that is precisely when the data will provide some pleasant surprises. And sure enough, the data emerging from major economies is not only getting stronger, it's getting *a lot* stronger than anyone expected a couple of months ago. The Conference Board's index of leading indicators—which takes into account 10 different economic factors, including stock prices, manufacturing sales and personal incomes—rose for a fifth straight month and has now recovered two-thirds of its decline.

Aaron Smith, an analyst with Moody's *Economy.com*, is careful not to sound the all-clear, but he does say that "the degree of improvement in the leading index does, however, make a stronger case for sustaining growth into 2010."

It's not just a few isolated optimists overreacting to statistical anomalies. Long-time bears, like Jim Grant of the *Interest Rate Observer* newsletter, point to convincing evidence that this recovery is more durable than most would have expected. History shows that the sharper the decline, the quicker the recovery. "The world is positioned for disappointment. But, in economic and financial matters, the world rarely gets what it expects," he wrote recently.

If these trends hold up (admittedly a big "if"), we will look back on the past year's turmoil as an incredibly sharp, and surprisingly short, recession. And, much to the chagrin of avowed free marketers, perhaps the strongest argument on record in favour of drastic and early government intervention to avert economic calamity. M

OVERDRAWN by Jason Logan



THE GOOD NEWS

Well worth it

Household net worths are finally clawing their way back up. For the first time in a year, household net worth in Canada rose, by 2.6 per cent, to $5.6 trillion. Meanwhile, U.S. household net worth grew for the first time in two years, rising 3.9 per cent, to US$53.1 trillion during the second quarter.

Greater goods

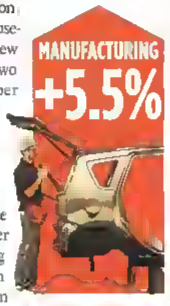
Canadian wholesale sales jumped 2.8 per cent in July, dwarfing the 0.8 per cent gain economists had been expecting. The biggest increase was in the auto sector, fuelled by exports to the U.S., with sales up 14.2 per cent. But the building sector also performed well.

Gone shopping

Americans brushed the cobwebs off their wallets and went shopping in August, though most of the sales came as a result of the cash-for-clunkers car program. The U.S. Commerce Department reports retail sales climbed 2.7 per cent in August after falling 0.2 per cent in July.

Factory lines

Canadian manufacturing sales were up 5.5 per cent in July as 15 of 21 industries saw increases in the volume of goods sold. Along with an expected rise at auto plants, aerospace products were up over 12 per cent and plastic and rubber product sales jumped nine per cent.



THE BAD NEWS

Faulty towers

Commercial real estate is seen by many as the next shoe to drop in the recession, and there are signs that may already be happening. Prices in the U.S. plunged 5.1 per cent in July from the month before, and are down 37 per cent from their peak in 2007, according to the Moody's/REAL Commercial Property Price Index. In Canada, commercial real estate vacancies are surging in Toronto, Vancouver and Calgary, according to CB Richard Ellis Limited.



Labour pains

The U.S. unemployment rate rose to 9.7 per cent in August from 9.4 per cent a month earlier, and up from 6.2 per cent last year, according to the Labor Department. The pain was felt in the majority of states, with joblessness increasing in 27 states from July, while 16 saw rates decrease. The rest stayed the same.

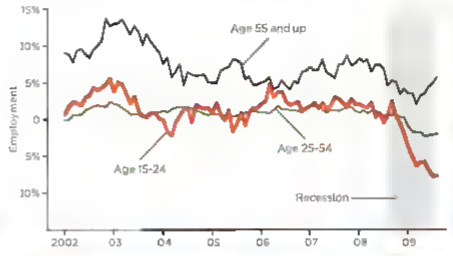
Delinquents

For all the talk of a recovery in the U.S. housing market, mortgage delinquency rates continue to surge. The rate hit a record high in August, as 7.58 per cent of homeowners were more than 30 days behind in their mortgage payments, up from 4.89 per cent last year. It was the fourth straight month of rising delinquencies. Among those with subprime mortgages, delinquency rates were an astonishing 41 per cent, up from 39 per cent the month before.

REUTERS/ISTOCK/GETTY/CP

GRAPH OF THE WEEK

THE YOUNG AND THE JOBLESS • Job losses haven't hit all Canadians equally. Employment is down sharply among young people. But unlike in the previous two recessions, it has actually risen six per cent in the fast-growing 55-and-over demographic.



SIGNS OF THE TIMES



▶ FedEx reported that its profit fell over 50 per cent in its latest quarterly results, as people shipped lighter and fewer packages during the recession. That's troubling news coming from a company that is often looked to as an economic bellwether. But there are some positive signs of a turnaround down the road, said the company, like a pickup in the number of international shipments.

▶ Gas prices may be down compared to last year, but Canadians have been driving less during the downturn. According to Statistics Canada, Canadians drove 70.8 billion km in the first quarter of 2009—2.7 per cent less than last year. They were also downsizing their rides, from SUVs and pickups to cars and station wagons. Meanwhile, the demand for used cars is surging, along with their prices, according to DesRosiers Automotive Consultants.

LATEST INTELLIGENCE

In his first visit to the White House since President Barack Obama was elected, Prime Minister Stephen Harper last week once again expressed his concerns about the "Buy America" provisions in the U.S. stimulus package. The President offered calm words of reassurance, but many, including Harper, worry trade wars are on the horizon.



"The worst possible signal that we could send to the world right now would be an increase in protection and particularly a procurement trade war between Canada and the United States."—*Prime Minister Stephen Harper*

"There is no prospect of any budding trade wars between our two countries."—*U.S. President Barack Obama*

"The protectionist juggernaut shows no sign of slowing down."

—*Simon J. Evenett, professor of international trade, University of St. Gallen, Switzerland*

"We look like Boy Scouts down there. You can't fix it in 42 minutes or an hour with the President."—*Liberal Leader Michael Ignatieff*

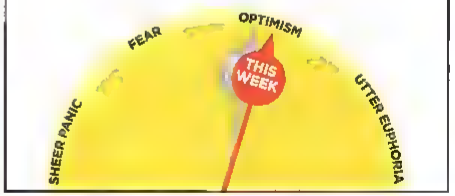


"The provinces and municipalities will say, 'Why keep our markets open if we're being locked out of the United States?'"—*Jayson Myers, CEO, Canadian Manufacturers and Exporters*

"Quite a few Americans believe that defeating new trade agreements and gutting existing ones would protect American jobs. In reality, those actions would... repeat the mistakes of the 1930s."—*David Rockefeller, former CEO, Chase Manhattan Bank*

THE ECONOGAUGE

Our weekly estimate of the prevailing mood among investors and consumers



How resilient is the human spirit today?

Find out at knowingpays.ca.



Invesco Trimark

FUSSING OVER FONTS

Can changing a catalogue font hurt the bottom line?

BY JOHN INTINI • When news broke last month that Ikea had changed the font in its catalogue—replacing Futura, after more than 50 years, with Verdana—twittering typophiles took their outrage to the Web. Some wondered, with varying degrees of snark, if shifting to such a ubiquitous font might hurt the company's carefully crafted aesthetic. "Doesn't Verdana reinforce their brand image as cheap, low-quality and overused?" sneered one online critic. Others, while not as directly on point, were no less devastating. "I'm not going to enjoy the meatballs as much at a Verdana fonted Ikea."

That font geeks can be snobs is no surprise. But, says Michael Walsh, a marketing professor at West Virginia University, they can also be dangerous. In a recent study, which focused on how consumers reacted to changes to Adidas and New Balance logos, Walsh found that a brand's most committed customers react the most negatively to change—research, he says, that translates to the Ikea case, even though the company isn't altering its logo. Fonts, like logos, are a key part of the brand aesthetic, and so a font change in a catalogue—nearly 200 million Ikea catalogues are printed every year—can threaten a company's bottom line if the new look alienates the wrong customers. "A catalogue is part of the totality of a brand," says Walsh. "To the extent Ikea has a large number of highly committed consumers, a change like this has the potential to be a problem."

Tropicana suffered a costly branding disaster earlier this year after a redesign to its packaging sparked an angry response from consumers. The new packaging was ugly, complained customers, and indistinguishable on store shelves from the competition. So, after launching a US$35 million ad campaign, Tropicana switched back to its previous design, which features a straw in an orange. The main reason for the flip-flop, according to the company's president, was that the loudest complaints were coming from the brand's most loyal consumers. "Go to any business school and they'll pound into your head that you want to get your customers really committed because they'll buy more," says Walsh. "There's a downside, too, they're going to constrain you a little bit."

If Ikea's jam packed aisles and checkout lines are any indication, the store has no shortage of loyal customers. Whether the shift to Verdana results in fewer Billy bookcases being sold will be tough to estimate. When Wal-Mart fiddled with its logo last year, nobody made a fuss. But unlike Wal-Mart, Ikea is built on style and design. "The font is not just a font," says Vikas Mittal, a marketing professor at Rice University and one of the co-authors of the study. "It has deeper meaning."

Ikea's official line is that the change was made for practical business reasons—it's "efficient and cost effective," said one spokesperson. Verdana, one of the most commonly used typefaces online, allows the company a uniform style across all platforms, worldwide. But ditching Futura—Ikea has been using a custom version of the font called Ikea Sans—puts the retailer at risk of losing a part of what makes it unique, says Niraj Dawar, a marketing communications professor at the University of Western Ontario's Richard Ivey School of Business. "You dilute your positioning in the marketplace," he says. "That can have financial consequences."

Dawar says brand managers at big firms constantly forget that they are effectively custodians of public property. "When you sell to large numbers of consumers, you can't assume that you own your own brand," he says. "The customers are co-owners in a sense, and they have a stake in what you sell and the way you sell it." So far, more than 6,000 people have signed an online petition calling for Ikea to reconsider. "If they are vocal, design-minded, Ikea shoppers, opinion leaders," adds Dawar, "that 6,000 may matter a lot."

Nobody is advocating against change. The key, says Walsh, is in the "management of change." If a company has a significant number of highly committed shoppers—at least 35 per cent, he says—change requires more careful planning. Ikea introduced Verdana, he says, by "slapping it on the catalogue and sending it out." He suggests that involving the customer—an online vote, perhaps—may have diffused some of the rage. "Sometimes people react because they're caught off guard," says Walsh. Dawar points to Lawry's as a company that managed change the right way. Managers there took 12 years to change the spice company's logo, he says, making minor revisions along the way that were "imperceptible" to the customer. "People define themselves through the brands they buy," says Walsh. "Start monkeying with the brands, you change the meaning of who they are." M



AT IKEA, says one marketing expert, 'the font is not just a font'

JENS ULRICH KOCH/GETTY



BANKER PARTIES IN MADOFF INVESTORS' HOME

In the aftermath of the mortgage meltdown, American bankers have struggled to improve their sullied reputations. But execs like Cheronde Guyton aren't helping. The Wells Fargo senior vice-president was canned after she allegedly moved into a swanky Malibu, Calif., beach house, acquired from cash-poor Madoff investors. To make matters worse, though, Guyton reportedly refused to show the house to buyers, she had time to host lavish parties.

'The hijacker lowered the gun to my heart, and looked into my eyes'

A Halifax couple's harrowing tale aboard CanJet flight 918

When Wayne Murray, 52, arranged a week in Montego Bay, Jamaica, last spring with his wife Mina, 51, it was supposed to be a stress reliever. Mina's sister had just died of cancer. The Halifax couple, and travellers who have been married for 30 years and have two sons, enjoyed "a perfect vacation—sun every day." Until that is, the night they were supposed to leave. On Apr. 19, 2009, a crazed, gun-wielding hijacker raided CanJet Airlines flight 918, taking its crew and 159 passengers hostage, including the Murrays. They initiated a heroic escape. Stephen Fray is presently on trial in Montego Bay.

For weeks after their horrendous ordeal, Wayne, who manages a car dealership, and Mina, a nurse, couldn't talk about it. At the encouragement of their trauma counsellor, Wayne wrote an account of what happened with Mina. Associate Editor Cathy Guth spoke to the Murrays about how they faced down a hijacker and adapted their story for this Maclean's exclusive.


HOME SAFE In Halifax, Wayne and Mina Murray were returning from their best vacation ever

PHOTOGRAPH BY SANDOR FIZL

We left our hotel at 8 p.m. on Sunday for Sangster International Airport in Montego Bay to fly home to Halifax. Half an hour later, we arrived and checked in with CanJet. We went through security, but then, in the departure immigration area, the officer noticed Mina's boarding pass didn't match her passport (it read Jacynthe Mina), so we had to get a new one. Even though it was an inconvenience, we felt good about officials picking up on this small detail.

With that resolved, we passed through a metal scanner where I had to remove my shoes and belt. Mina, who used to work at the liquor store at the Halifax International Airport, noticed there were no security or police officers around, just airport employees. At the duty free shop, we picked up some Jamaican treats for our friends in Canada, bottles of rum. Just before 10 p.m., we arrived at our loading terminal, and 15 minutes later we took our seats on the plane—4A and 4B.

We talked about how this had been one of the best trips we'd ever had. The last two couples were just about to board the plane when a slim young man went around them, got on and said something to the male captain and a female flight attendant. He was wearing a short-sleeved grey shirt, and in his rush, it billowed. That's when Mina noticed he had a gun tucked into his belt. She blurted out, "Wayne, that man has a gun!" I didn't see it, but I could hear the fear in Mina's voice, so I tried to reassure her. "No, he doesn't. But if he does, then he's a sky marshal."

At that exact moment, the man pulled out his gun, and while waving it around, ordered those last couples to get out. They obliged. That's when we realized he was a hijacker. Without hesitation, he started shoving the

gun in the faces of the captain and flight attendant, yelling "Yeah, they know I'm here and they know I have a f---ing gun, so close the f---ing door and get this bitch plane in the air!" We assumed "they" referred to security. The captain told the hijacker we couldn't take off because the door to the plane had to be closed from outside. The flight attendant added that the plane hadn't been fuelled yet. They sounded calm, which was comforting for everyone except the hijacker, who didn't believe them. In his frustration, he grabbed

FRAY (below) is currently on trial, facing several charges in connection with the hijacking





'Bang! The .38 went off and we saw the fiery spray from the gun barrel'

the captain's identification tag from his neck, put it on, and shouted, "Close the plane door! Close the door!"

Ten minutes had passed when a security officer got on the plane and tried to find out what the hijacker wanted. He replied, "This plane is headed to the U.S., so let's get up in the air." The officer told the hijacker he was mistaken, this plane was headed to Santa Clara, Cuba and then Halifax. "The plane you want is loading next to us," he said, which was true. The hijacker moved toward the exit but then, seeming to suspect a lie, he stepped back into the plane's galley. The security officer stood in front of the hijacker, blocking his view of the passenger cabin. Any time the hijacker moved, the security officer did too.

That's when the flight attendants started walking up and down the aisle saying to passengers, "We have been trained for this. Try to keep calm." There were empty seats at the back of the plane, so they moved the people from the first three rows. This left us as the first passengers the hijacker could see. We felt vulnerable. There was fear all around. I wasn't taking my eyes off the hijacker because I was trying to anticipate what might come next. Mina kept saying, "Wayne, don't stare at him," because she could tell the hijacker was mentally unstable.

The security officer, who was talking to someone via a walkie-talkie, said to the hijacker: "They want to know what kind of a gun you have." The hijacker put it up to his face, read the stamp, and screamed, "It's a f---ing 38!" He forced the security officer to sit in the first row, and then turned to the captain. The hijacker pushed the gun up to his face again, and then he shoved him out of the plane, yelling, "Close the door! Close the door!" None of the passengers could see the captain, and the doors stayed open. We didn't think he intended to shut them, but we didn't know if he actually tried. So the hijacker pointed the gun in the direction of the captain, and pulled the trigger.

"Bang!" The .38 went off and we saw the fiery spray from the gun barrel. A brief chorus of screams, crying and "Oh my Gods!" erupted from the passengers, and then people tried to calm down the children. We all knew to shut up because we were adding fuel to the fire. We heard nothing from the captain. I thought one of three things had happened: the captain was dead — or unconscious and bleeding — or he'd gotten away. It was almost like being in a movie. You could tell the hijacker felt good pulling the trigger.

Then, with the loaded gun in one hand, the hijacker grabbed the fire extinguisher with his other hand, pulled the safety pin out with his teeth, and tested to see how it worked. We thought this must be his next weapon, we could see the spindle of his gun, and Mina knew it could hold six bullets, max—she used to do a lot of hunting.

The security officer stood up and blocked the hijacker's view of the passengers again. The flight crew began moving people from rows four through six to the rear of the plane. Some passengers panicked and ran, filling up all the seats and bathrooms. I had Mina sit on a woman and I stood in the aisle facing the front of the plane so I could watch the hijacker's every move. Mina didn't like that, so she grabbed me by the belt, and the next thing we knew we were stacked three people in one seat. The man in the window seat was crying, saying the Hail Mary, and praying to God that he not die on this plane, and so was his wife. Mina prayed too. More than once we wondered if this was the end for us.

The hijacker put the gun in the security officer's face, and forced him to sit down again. Then he realized there were no passengers in the first six rows, and he panicked because he thought we were leaving through the rear of the plane. He started yelling for us to get back in our seats, but no one did, so the hijacker pointed the gun at the back of the plane and said, "You, in the blue, come up front right now." Everybody was looking at each other to see who was wearing blue. A male flight attendant at the rear, who had a blue CanJet vest on, said, "I'm not going up there. No way," before dropping to the floor.

A different female flight attendant, probably in her early 20s, stepped over him and approached the hijacker. It was amazing to see. He put her almost in a headlock, with his left arm around her shoulders, and they were bent over. He pressed the gun to her head, and shouted, "Are they leaving from the back?" You could see fear in her eyes, but she was composed. He told her to get people into the front seats. With the hijacker still holding her, the flight attendant made that request over the PA system. No one moved.

Meanwhile, I whispered with another passenger about what to do if the hijacker got into the cockpit and put the plane in motion. I once read a book about how to survive a hijacking. And we knew from 9/11 that if a plane headed for the U.S. was controlled by a terrorist, they'd just blow it out of the sky and deal with 159 insurance claims later. That was the worst case scenario, and it was already really bad.

The passengers were getting pissed off, saying "Open the back doors!" to the flight crew so we could escape, but they wouldn't. On the plane were 15 or 20 deaf people, four wedding parties going to Cuba, and the vacationers who had been in Jamaica for a week. I tried to tell the others that the flight crew had a plan, all we had to do was figure it out and follow along to stay alive.

The hijacker was pissed off too: he was acting again like when he shot at the captain, yelling, and he still had a hold of the flight attendant and the gun to her head. I figured that if the hijacker felt like he was winning, he wouldn't shoot anyone. So I stood up in the middle of the aisle and pulled Mina behind me. I put my hands up, and the hijacker pointed at my head. Mina, who at five foot two is nearly a foot shorter than me, stuck her fingers through my belt loops. We walked toward the hijacker. I stared into his eyes. The hijacker kept the gun pointed at us until we got within a metre of him, and then he told us, "Sit down."

We sat in 4A and 4B again, and then the hijacker, who seemed calmer, let go of the flight attendant. She said to him, "You know they won't let the plane take off with these hostages on board. So if they give you all their money, will you let them go?" The hijacker grabbed the flight attendant again, pointed the gun at her, and yelled, "Don't negotiate with me, bitch!"

We looked at each other, and I said, "Mina, this is our way out—that's their plan." We ducked down so the hijacker couldn't see us, and Mina grabbed her purse, and put our U.S. money in her bra. She gave me our passports and I shoved them down my left sock. I put the Canadian money in my right sock except for a $20 bill and two $5 bills. The flight attendant was trying to get people to bring money to the front of the plane, but no one did. I said to Mina, "Let's roll!" and I waved the Canadian bills in the air. We walked toward the hijacker, who pointed the gun at us again. He was shaking: he was so nervous, and he had to let go of the flight attendant so he could grip the gun with both hands. She grabbed a plastic bag for the money.

When we were within half a metre of the hijacker, the gun was not far from my face and I could smell the gun powder and see the terror in the hijacker's face. As I put the money into the bag, I couldn't feel my heart beating. I looked to my left, at the doorway where the captain had been shot at, and saw no body or blood. That was a relief.

We waited for instructions. The hijacker lowered the gun to my heart, looked into my eyes, and said, "I'm going to make sure the government pays you $100,000 for doing this. Now get off my plane!" I started to open the double doors to the catwalk, which led to the terminal. The hijacker shouted, "I said only one door!" I slowly opened the left door with my left hand, and grabbed Mina with my right hand. We stepped off the plane. Three police rifles were pointed at us, and behind us was the hijacker's gun. We feared we were going to be in a shoot-out so we ran as fast as we could, and I yelled, "Get out of my way!"

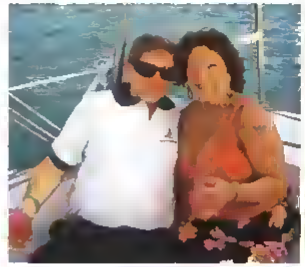
We barged through the crowd inside the terminal, which was locked down. We kept running until we got to the other end of the airport. We had to get away from the gun. We stopped when we couldn't go any further. There was no one around. We sat on a bench, hugging and crying. The first thing we said was, "Oh my God, we're safe." About 10 minutes later other passengers found us and hugged and thanked us for being brave. They'd followed our lead. Passengers shared money with those who didn't have any, including children. The hijacker let everyone go, except for the crew.

It was 11:45 p.m., and pandemonium—people lying on benches, screaming, crying, trying to hide in washrooms. There were line-ups to use the phones. We paced the airport, adrenalin was still running through our bodies. Half an hour later, airport staff brought in bottled water, chips, muffins, and juice.

The prime minister of Jamaica, Bruce Golding, arrived. His staff catalogued our information, how much money we'd given the hijacker, and medicine that had been left on the plane. He had one of the storekeepers open his smoke shop. We turned the TVs to CNN, which had a camera set up on the tarmac. We could see ourselves, the hijacked plane, and police surrounding it. That was surreal!

At 3 a.m., we were bused to hotels an hour away. We couldn't sleep. I kept seeing the face of the flight attendant when I only put $30 in the bag, like she feared it wouldn't be enough. Mina was worried about our family back home. So we got up. That afternoon, Prime Minister Stephen Harper and Prime

THE MURRAYS (top left), CanJet passengers (bottom left), Stephen Harper and Jamaican PM Bruce Golding







'The man in the window seat was crying, saying the Hail Mary'

REUTERS TV/REUTERS

ENRIQUE DE LA OSA/REUTERS ADRIAN WYLD/CP

COLLAR OF THE WEEK

IF IT WASN'T FOR THAT MEDDLING WEBSITE...

Jonathan G. Parker allegedly broke into a West Virginia home through a bedroom window, nabbed a couple of rings worth more than $3,700, and fled. He probably could have gotten away with the crime—except that he used the victim's computer to check his Facebook account and forgot to log out before he left. Police quickly tracked him down. If convicted, Parker is facing a one- to 10-year prison sentence for felony daytime burglary.

Minister Golding met us at the hotel. It was calming for us to see Canadian flags. They said a Canadian trained Jamaican police force boarded the plane at 7:30 a.m. and arrested the hijacker. The crew was safe.

When I shook hands with Prime Minister Harper, I told him that I'd heard inaccurate witness accounts—some people thought the hijacker was an airport employee because they didn't see him take the captain's ID. Prime Minister Harper turned to the Jamaican prime minister and said, "My man on the inside says the story's incorrect." And then an official came to talk with us. It was comforting and funny.

After we had our pictures taken with the prime ministers, we went back to the airport. This time there were many police and security personnel. We went to the same terminal as the night before and we were assigned the same seats. The flight number was changed from 918 to 99. The flight crew from the hijacked plane walked by and we gave them a standing ovation. We were so appreciative of the crew, especially that young flight attendant. The boarding call came and we made our way to the gate. We noticed a man being taken away by police. He was a passenger who had been drinking too much alcohol. Mina had warned his wife earlier that would be a problem.

It took an hour to board the plane because some passengers were emotional getting back on. Eventually we took off, and everyone clapped and cheered. When we landed in Santa Clara, Cuba, the runway was surrounded by fighter jets, which was unnerving. There were also military personnel with rifles.

After the travellers in Cuba who were headed to Canada boarded, we found out they had been told that the flight had been delayed because of engine trouble, not a hijacking. As the truth spread, one traumatized passenger had a seizure. Some nurses on board helped. Next, we flew through a lightning storm. There were flashes on either side of the plane, and passengers were restless. Mina and I agreed that if we landed anywhere but Halifax we were getting off, renting a car and driving home.

At midnight we finally arrived in Halifax. But the flight crew wouldn't let us off the plane until the man who'd had a seizure and another woman who wasn't well had been unloaded. After 45 minutes of being confined in the same seats in which we were hijacked, we were allowed out. All we wanted to do was go home.

The Murrays who haven't travelled since the hijacking, plan to visit Negril, Jamaica, for one week next spring, courtesy of the Jamaican government. Canjet and Sandals Resort. M

When the beat goes off

An irregular heartbeat is more common than we might expect

BY RACHEL MENDELSON • Toronto Maple Leafs goalie Jonas Gustavsson is not a likely candidate for heart trouble. For months, the 24-year-old Swede, whose six-foot three, 192-lb. frame and quick reflexes have earned him the moniker "the Monster," geared up for his NHL debut with a rigorous schedule of weightlifting and long shifts on the stationary bike. But after a fitness test on Sept. 12, Gustavsson's heart would not stop racing. He was taken to hospital, underwent minor surgery to correct the problem, and was back at practice within a week.

But despite his quick recovery, many remain puzzled: how could this happen to someone so young, under close medical scrutiny? While the organization remains tight-lipped, according to experts, many of the conditions that cause the heart to race often go undetected, and are far more common than one might expect.



AFTER a fitness test, Jones Gustevsson's heart kept racing

Michael Goliob, a cardiac electrophysiologist at the University of Ottawa Heart Institute, says that among young people, the most frequent explanation for the kind of symptoms—and treatment—Gustavsson had is SVT (supraventricular tachycardia), which he describes as "an extra circuit in the heart." Though this "microscopic" abnormality is present in one per cent of the population, Goliob says that in many cases, the extra circuit never becomes active. But when it does, "the rhythm will go very rapidly, using the normal electric circuit with the extra circuit." Though SVT isn't more common in athletes, they may discover it more readily; exercise, says Goliob, is a frequent trigger. (Unlike arrhythmias that are caused by serious structural abnormalities, and that have resulted in the sudden deaths of seemingly healthy athletes, SVT is considered low-risk.)

In older people, however, there is a more common reason for a heart that kicks into overdrive: atrial fibrillation (AFIB). According to Goliob, AFIB, which is a sustained abnormal rhythm in the upper chambers, affects 10 per cent of those between the ages of 70 and 80. During AFIB, the heart can reach up to 200 beats per minute (the normal rate ranges from 60 to 100). "It can be very alarming and very uncomfortable," says Charles Kerr, Vancouver cardiologist and head of the Canadian Cardiovascular Society. In AFIB, the heart isn't pumping properly, which can cause clots to form—if a clot reaches the brain, a stroke can occur. (AFIB patients are often put on blood thinners.) Already the leading cause of stroke, "as the population ages," says Goliob, "AFIB is going to become an epidemic."

The trouble with AFIB and SVT is they're difficult to detect; unless a person is experiencing the rapid heartbeat, the condition isn't visible on electrocardiograms (ECGs). But once diagnosed, they are often easy to treat. Gustavsson had a catheter ablation, a procedure with a 90 to 95 per cent success rate that involves inserting a catheter near the groin, and running it up to the heart. Once the problem area is located, it is burnt off. Though ablation isn't as effective for AFIB patients, breakthroughs in medications offer new hope for keeping the rapid heartbeat at bay. The message, says Goliob, is "to listen to your body. If you detect abnormal heart rhythms, that's worth seeing your physician for an evaluation." M

PAUL HUNTER/TORONTO STAR

TONICS

A SWEETER WAY TO FIGHT INFECTION: HONEY

Dark, creamy manuka honey isn't just delicious—it has powerful antibiotic properties, too. The honey can cripple infection-causing bacteria, researchers have shown, including the superbug MRSA, a type of staph infection that resists common antibiotics. Manuka honey (made from a flowering bush found in New Zealand) contains a mysterious ingredient that disables bacteria, uncovering it could lead to new treatments for drug-resistant strains.

FINDING OUT WHAT MEN ARE UP TO

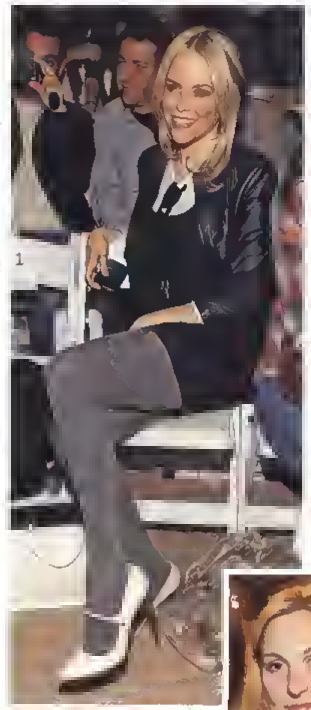
Some women pride themselves on their cyber-sleuth skills

BY REBECCA ECKLER • On a recent episode of the reality show *Keeping Up with the Kardashians*, Kourtney Kardashian tells her sister Kim she has her boyfriend's old phone. "Have you gone through it?" Kim asks Kourtney excitedly. What's the point, Courtney wants to know. "What do you mean what is the point?" Kim asks. "You want to know what your boyfriend is up to." Then, speaking directly to the camera, Kim proudly says, "I can break into any phone, can get any code, can get into any voice mail." She's not the only phone-e-mail snooper out there. One of the main characters on the show *Entourage* just dropped a woman who listened to one of his phone messages when he was in the shower.

Ali Wise, a stunning 32-year-old New Yorker, was arrested in July on felony charges of computer trespass and eavesdropping after allegedly hacking into the voice mail of Nina Freudenberger, an interior designer and socialite. Hacking "isn't the sort of crime that normally comes to mind when you think of a pretty young publicist who attends glam parties on a nightly basis," says Remy Stern, founder of Cityfile, a gossip website that has followed the story. "It was a little more juicy because she wasn't accused of hacking into her boyfriend's voice mail, the victim was another woman... who may have been involved with an ex-boyfriend of hers."

Wise used software called SpoofCard to hack into the voice mail. The SpoofCard can be bought online and, according to information on the product's website, "offers the ability to change what someone sees on their caller ID display when they receive a phone call." You simply dial SpoofCard's toll free number or local access number in your country and then enter your PIN (like a calling card). What comes up on a person's phone is a number that's not yours.

The SpoofCard is meant to be used, mostly it seems, for crank calls and for other times people want to hide their number. But, obviously, it's being misused. The Internet is rife with information about how to break into someone's voice mail using a SpoofCard. "I'll tell you how," writes one snooper. "Call up SpoofCard and when they ask you to enter the number you want to show [up] on the caller ID, you enter your boyfriend's number. When they ask you to enter the number you want to call, you enter your boyfriend's number again, and, bingo, you'll get into his messages. This works because it tricks the cellphone to think the cell is calling into the voice message system." The deviousness doesn't end there. "Now remember," another writes, "when you get into the voice message, you must quickly change the password so you can always access the voice mail messages."





SOCIALITES Ali Wise (top), Nina Freudenberger (right)

BRYAN BEDDER/GETTY MICHAEL COHEN/GETTY

According to a friend of Wise's, when the police asked her if she had used a SpoofCard, her answer was, "Of course I used a SpoofCard." It was as if they had asked a meat lover if they ate steak.

Wise stepped down from her job at Dolce & Gabbana, and has become fodder for New York gossip rags. But to some women she's become, if not a hero, at least relatable. Movie producers have begged to option her story.

On a recent night out, five women laughed at stories of breaking into men's voice mails. "I would wait until he went into the shower," said one, "and I would manically try and figure out his password." Another admitted that for years she has broken into her boyfriend's, and ex-boyfriend's, email and voice mail accounts. "It's really not that hard. Men are stupid. If you know their Interac password, that's generally their code for all their other PDAs," she said. One woman is so skilled at figuring out passwords, she can hear someone type in the phone digits, and from the tones of the numbers, figure out the code. "I want to see if they're up to no good," she laughs.

Obviously, serial snooping isn't just for the rich and famous. The founder of Toronto-based Blue Star Investigations Inc. International, Allen Brik, has been a private detective for 15 years. He says this kind of invasion of privacy has exploded in the past five years. "It's not always easy, but it's certainly doable." It's strictly illegal, he says, and shouldn't be done, "but people want to know they can trust someone. They're not thinking with their heads about right or wrong."

Brik agrees that men "don't often change their password. They usually use their date of birth or their middle names. Women are more creative." (He hasn't changed any of his passwords in 12 years.) It's not only females who snoop, he says, but the majority are women. "I think it comes down to men cheating more."

A judge could turn Wise's case, due in court in October, into an "example" a la Paris Hilton's jail stint. "I do hope that no prison time is involved," says Stern. "A much better punishment would be to require her to have those godawful orange jumpsuits worn by American prisoners redesigned by Dolce & Gabbana. That might make it all worth it." M

HOW THEY DO IT IN...

BAVARIA: BEER-PROOF LEDERHOSEN

This year's Oktoberfest marks the unveiling of a new must-have for serious guzzlers: Beer-proof, lederhosen-style swim trunks—a twist on traditional leather breeches—are the brainchild of Austrian restaureteur Peter Kolb. Purists are peeved, but Kolb dismisses complaints. "Our design is authentic. It's merely made of a different material." He says his product helps young people who "never have worn folk costume to identify with lederhosen."



Writers on Extraordinary Canadians
No. 11

THE KEY TO HIS GENIUS

Pianist Glenn Gould was also a brilliant philosopher of music

BY JOHN INTINI • Though he captivated millions from behind his Steinway, Glenn Gould began to see himself "less as a performer, and more a thinker about music," says Mark Kingwell. This notion of Gould as a philosopher of music is the central theme of Kingwell's new book on the famous Canadian. The University of Toronto philosophy professor focused much of his research on Gould's recordings and published writing, which he calls "really thoughtful, kooky and contradictory." Gould, adds Kingwell, "really was crazy, but he was crazy in an utterly inimitable way."

While this writer legend pairing in the Penguin Extraordinary Canadians series might seem, on the surface, a bit counterintuitive—the subjects Robertson Davies or Northrop Frye would have been a more obvious pick for the academic—it's also what makes the book work. Kingwell, a music lover, is interested in "a whole host of things that Gould was concerned with, like consciousness, and time, and play." And, he says, his research further developed his own thoughts on music, especially those related to memory and experience. "He never quite settled certain questions," says Kingwell. And while it's hard to hold Gould's theories to the same philosophical standard used for more traditional philosophers, Kingwell thinks Gould "offers something much more interesting: a bunch of unresolved reflections that pushes you and pushes you more deeply into the questions." M

EXCLUSIVE EXCERPT

Author Mark Kingwell on how a strange moment in 1959, and plenty of self-medicating, led to Glenn Gould's breakdown.

Since the early 1950s Gould had been taking prescription drugs of various kinds, mainly for anxiety and associated bodily symptoms. By the end of his life he was also ingesting a varied cocktail of pills for blood pressure, anxiety, sleep disorder and general unease. In addition to drugs such as Valium, obtained by prescription from various doctors, sometimes unbeknownst to each other, Gould took all manner of over-the-counter painkillers, sleep aids, vitamins and dietary supplements. His self-medicating cycles were idiosyncratic and unpredictable, involving drugs taken to offset the effects of other drugs, the addition of new drugs to counter symptoms that emerged from the last drug, and so on. In the recording studio, right from the start, the colour-coded bottles and pills were as much a standard feature of Gould's apparatus of genius as the muffler and gloves, the curious chair, the arrowroot biscuits, and the bottles of mineral water.

This was no mere tic, however. Gould's hypochondria and general anxiety created a spiral of addiction in which symptom became indistinguishable from cure, where all illness was iatrogenic, the medication made into the disease. Certain features of Gould's constitution were evident early, and this pharmacopoeia endgame can obscure the real suffering at its root. An odd incident in 1959 opens a chapter that ends only in the late 1970s and Gould's decline into death.

On Dec. 8 of that year Gould was in New York to visit the technicians at the Steinway company. His beloved CD 318 was in need of an overhaul, one of several virtual rebuildings it would receive over its lifetime of association with Gould, who favoured the light action of its keyboard and the clarity of its sound. On this occasion, speaking to several

Advertisement

A smooth way to face Monday mornings

Put your best face forward without pulling, tugging or irritating your skin – and start the new week with irresistibly smooth skin.

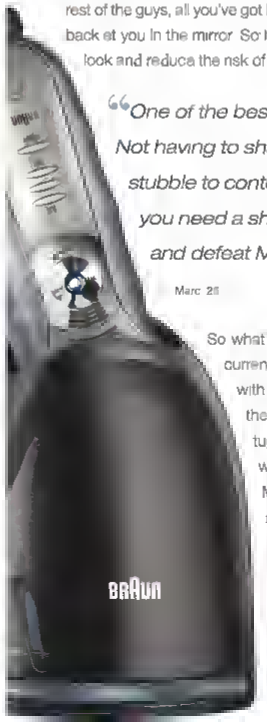


Monday morning – it's something we all have to face after an action-packed weekend. For two full days, you ditched your suit, your laptop and your usual shaving routine. But now the games have ended, the concert's a wrap, the party's over – and like the rest of the guys, all you've got left of the weekend is a grizzly face staring back at you in the mirror. So how can you get back your clean-shaven look and reduce the risk of irritating your skin in the process?

"One of the best parts about the weekend? Not having to shave! But that leaves difficult stubble to contend with on Monday. For that, you need a shaver designed to challenge and defeat Monday morning stubble!"

Marc 28

So what's the trouble with serious stubble? Your current electric shaver may not be able to deal with it, tugging at the long hairs and missing the short ones. And all that hair pulling, tugging and discomfort can leave you with irritated skin – just adding to your Monday-morning misery. Tough beards make for tough shaving. With the right shaver you can forget about the special challenges your weekend stubble presents and start the week confidently with a clean, smooth shave.



GORDON BAKER/GETTY

So how do you go from scruffy to smooth without sacrificing comfort?

The smooth solution

- To keep your skin smooth and help reduce irritation, look for a shaver with multiple cutting elements designed to remove long hairs as easily as the short ones.



3-Stage Cutting System

- For a close and comfortable shave in hard to reach areas like the neck, try a shaver with independently floating elements that can easily adapt to your face and capture hairs growing in different directions.



Triple Action Free Float System

- Keep your shaver clean, hassle free! With a cleaning system like Braun's Clean & Renew™, you'll feel like you're using a new shaver everyday. It automatically cleans, lubricates, dries and charges the shaver at the touch of one button.



Clean & Renew System

The NEW Braun Series 3 shavers take care of long and short beards with precision, style and comfort. Get Monday mornings off to a smooth start!

Find out how the NEW Braun Series 3 can make your Monday mornings better at **braun.com**

BRAUN

Steinway employees, Gould was greeted by William Hupfer, the chief technician, with a friendly slap on the back

Accounts differ on how hard the slap was, whether it was indeed a slap, and so on What is certain is that Hupfer made contact with Gould, who recoiled and began complaining of severe pain Much speculation is directed at whether this renewed an early childhood injury to his back, when he fell in the family boat, or perhaps invoked it in some psychosomatic fashion In any event, and despite a doctor's report that there was no evidence of injury, Gould began complaining of serious harm, claiming numbness in the fingers of his left hand as well as ache in the shoulder It's possible the blow, or its imagined effect, aggravated a repetitive strain injury already troubling Gould For his part, he claimed Hupfer had dislodged his shoulder blade. He began daily orthopaedic and chiropractic treatments and cancelled numerous concert appearances even while, in other periods, he went on performing with apparent vigour

In the spring of 1960 an orthopaedic surgeon in Philadelphia, Irwin Stein, agreed to put Gould in an upper body cast, his left arm elevated over his head Gould assumed this bizarre hailing posture for a month, a period of discomfort that left him with an irrational dislike of the city of brotherly love, where he would cancel a concert the next year Indeed, the Hupfer slap now provided Gould with an excuse to cancel or avoid any commitment he did not care for, from shaking hands with strangers to the entirety of his 1960 European tour

It also gave him sufficient cause to bring suit against Steinway Just two days short of a year after the slap, on Dec 6, 1960, he filed suit against Hupfer and the company, demanding $300,000 in personal damages The company responded by revoking his status as a Steinway artist and banning him from the Steinway hall The following summer, in August 1961, the dispute was resolved out of court, with Gould finally agreeing to accept recovery of his legal and medical expenses $9,372 35 He was restored to good standing as a member of the Steinway stable—but employees were now expressly forbidden to shake his hand Backslaps are not specified but were, one imagines, suppressed a fortiori

ACCOUNTS DIFFER ON HOW HARD THE SLAP WAS. OR WAS IT EVEN A SLAP?



LATER IN LIFE, Gould found himself 'caught in a control freak's nightmare'

Eighteen years later, in June 1977, Gould began to experience a breakdown of control over his hands, numbness, and dysfunction similar to that resulting from—we cannot fairly say caused by—the Hupfer slap This time, however, there was no Hupler, and Gould was unable to externalize his unease, still less to sue anyone Instead, and now characteristically, Gould internalized it His diaries from this period show a long series of experiments, reported in pseudo scientific language, attempting to diagnose the flaw in his physical mechanism Gould dismantled his playing the way a slumping golf professional demolishes and then tries to rebuild his swing, even going so far as to alter his facial expressions as a way of shaking loose his wayward fingers

Other masters of repetitive movement often find themselves paralyzed by the press of analysis, such that the most habitual movement in the world becomes itself impossible—one thinks here of the golfer Ian Baker Finch, whose career exploded when he could no longer execute his easy swing in competitive environments, or the New York Mets catcher Mackey Sasser, who one day found himself unable to toss the baseball back to the pitcher after a ball or strike

Gould was well aware of this problem In several interviews and publications throughout his career, he refers to it as "the centipede conundrum," from the childhood wisdom that a centipede knows perfectly well how to deploy its hundred feet—unless and until it is asked to explain how "I don't want to think too much about my playing," he said, when asked about, for example, his humming, "or else I'll get like that centipede who was asked which foot he moved first and became paralyzed, just thinking about it"

When performance becomes conscious of itself as performance, the lucid mediation between thought and sound is broken, and the tripping begins Thus the necessary distractions offered by closed eyes, bodily swaying, humming, and even external noise

One can speculate endlessly about the causes of Gould's late career breakdown, everything from the recent death of his perfectionist mother to the routine pressures of middle age has been cited And it is surely the case that his hypochondria, combined with the cycles of self medication, anxiety, and (importantly) the means to indulge these, created its own toxic energy But I think the simplest explanation is both the best and the most frightening. Gould was caught in a control freak's nightmare Even as he struggled to fix something he felt was broken, he was attacked by new waves of misgiving about whether the steps he was taking to solution were actually making the problem worse Not only was his playing stalled by thought—in other words, he had become the centipede—but, far worse, the thought itself had become stalled, recursive and self-negating at every moment This is the energy of consciousness bent back upon its bearer

There was, and could have been, no resolution to Gould's malady because, by its own definition, resolution could only mean further thought, and thought was itself the malady There is no cure for that, because, even were he able to frame this last thought, the one concerning thought's self violence, no escape is thereby made available—except in the obliteration of all thought, of the very fact of consciousness Until then, there could be only further imprisonment in the labyrinth of reflection M



From Extraordinary Canadians Glenn Gould *by Mark Kingwell. Copyright © Mark Kingwell, 2009 Reprinted with permission of Penguin Group (Canada)*



Goodbye weekend. Hello smooth skin.

Since many men prefer not to shave over the weekend, Monday morning often starts with irritated skin The new Braun Series 3 has triple action shaver heads to cut those longer hairs as easily as the shorter ones and help minimize skin irritation, so the week starts smoothly. braun.com

New Series 3

BRAUN

music Bringing back Haydn P.62
books Throwing egg on Mao P.64
film Michael Moore is fed up P.66
fame Queen Mum biography P.67
bazaar The greening of sex toys P.68
steyn Gays, dogs and B & Bs P.70



GETTY IMAGES/ISTOCK REUTERS PHOTO ILLUSTRATION BY BRADLEY REINHARDT

HOW TO BE FAMOUS WITHOUT DOING ANYTHING

Ashton Kutcher is the first celebrity to realize you don't need a hit movie or TV show to get noticed BY JAIME J. WEINMAN

media

Ashton Kutcher is a movie star, except his name doesn't sell movies. He's a TV star, except he doesn't star in TV shows. He's a producer, but his new production, *The Beautiful Life* (a trashy TV drama about models) just premiered to very low ratings. And yet he and his wife, Demi Moore, are as famous a celebrity couple as David and Victoria Beckham, whom they reportedly befriended on a recent vacation. Why, when he doesn't seem to do a lot, is he one of the most-discussed stars in the world? The answer is Twitter. Kutcher was one of the first celebrities to make aggressive use of the social networking site that has a 140-character upper limit for messages. This year he became the first Twitter user to have one million "followers" subscribing to his short messages or "tweets," beating out CNN with the help of a billboard company that put up "Follow Ashton Kutcher" digital billboards for his benefit. Only a few months later his Twitter account, "aplusk," has over three million followers, in part because Twitter has started automatically sending his messages to new users. "Sometimes people don't even know they're following him," explains Sarah Milstein, author of *The Twitter Book*. Kutcher has said that Twitter isn't a great business site because "it's not a very advertising-friendly community just yet." But it's effective for advertising Ashton Kutcher.

Unlike some of the other celebrities who have become prolific "tweeters," like Spencer Pratt (a non-actor known only from reality TV's *The Hills*), Kutcher does have legitimate credentials as a star, though mostly old ones. *That '70s Show* was a hit sitcom, and even in one of the best casts of the era—which included Topher Grace (*Spider-Man 3*) and Mila Kunis (*Forgetting Sarah Marshall*)—Kutcher immediately stood out as one of the most popular performers. He played a big, handsome all-American boy who never seemed to realize that girls were taking advantage of his stupidity. He leveraged his popularity into a series of movies in which he played a similar character, like *Just Married* and *Dude, Where's My Car?* (whose plot was more or less borrowed by this year's hit *The Hangover*). Then he moved into producing with *Punk'd*, a modern *Candid Camera* that turned its title (with its inexplicable apostrophe) into an international catchphrase. But by the time he started using Twitter, his career wasn't what it had been: his most successful recent movie was *What Happens in Vegas*, where he was second-billed to the film's real star, Cameron Diaz. With older co-stars and his marriage to a woman 15 years his senior, he was getting typecast as the sidekick to older women, his target demographic of young males couldn't have liked that much.

He turned things around by realizing that Twitter, more than any other site, is the best place for a celebrity to be if he wants to become cool again. Celebrities have traditionally had a problematic relationship with the Internet. Most of the things it offers—websites, blogs—require an amount of free time most stars don't have. So they've kept their distance from the online world, meanwhile, gossipers and paparazzi have used their own sites to tear down stars' reputations. But Twitter was different. Because of its 140-character limit on every post, tweeters not only don't have to spend a lot of time writing their messages, they literally can't. "It doesn't require a team of PR people or writers or editors," Milstein explains. "It's something that anybody, including celebrities, can do themselves." And, she adds, "it's simple. It doesn't require a lot of writing skills." Kutcher's new online visibility may have helped make him more marketable than he's been in some time: according to *Variety*, when the TV Guide Network recently started showing old reruns of *Punk'd*, it increased ratings in its time slot by 63 per cent among viewers 18-49. Twitter has a young-skewing audience, and some of Kutcher's followers might actually watch his stuff.

The weird thing about this is that the tweets that have changed Kutcher's life are not of any special quality. Most of his posts are declarations of what he's doing at the moment, like "Throwing a party in ny tonight for The Beautiful Life." Sometimes he'll use Twitter for a good cause, usually if it helps promote himself (as winner of the race for followers with CNN, he agreed to donate mosquito nets to malaria victims), but sometimes he uses it to admit his ignorance, which isn't too far from the characters he plays: "I've been researching this Health Care bill all day looking 4 facts," he wrote. "Not sure what to think." And sometimes he'll link to a video or photo, when Patrick Swayze died, he directed us to a video clip of the actor on *Saturday Night Live*. There are few insights or revelations on his feed. Milstein says a business person should be "funny, or interesting, or share valuable links" to be a success on Twitter, but that rule doesn't apply to Kutcher.

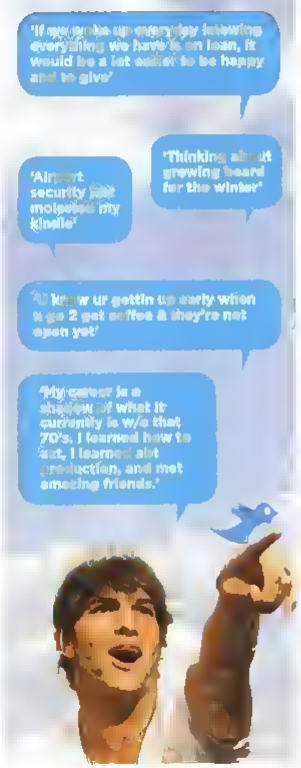
Still, the very boringness of his feed might be what's made it so popular. Julio Ojeda-Zapata, a reporter for the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, who wrote the book *Twitter Means Business*, says that Twitter readers "like to know who's behind the byline or who's behind the

movie marquee." Kutcher's feed satisfies that desire, it gives people the feeling they're looking at his everyday life, complete with the occasional spat with his wife, he got in much publicized trouble when, after the words "don't tell wifey," he linked to an unflattering picture of Moore in her underwear. Other celebrities try to build their brand by making themselves seem more successful than they are, but that doesn't work, Milstein explains. "Twitter is not a good medium for trying to be something you're not. It plays to authenticity and a reflection of reality." Kutcher took that and ran with it, making Twitter into a reality show about his own life and habits. There's something fascinating about seeing what mundane people celebrities are.

And, because this is a multimedia era, that reality show isn't just restricted to Twitter. After he "researched" health care, Kutcher appeared on *Real Time With Bill Maher* to discuss what he'd learned, and wound up exclaiming that "I don't want to pay for the guy who's getting a triple bypass because he's eating fast food all day and deep fried Snickers bars." The outburst was bizarre considering that he had just appeared in a widely publicized YouTube video where he asked people to "serve" President Obama, but it got him plenty of attention on blogs, and YouTube, and of course on Twitter, where right wing followers came to his defence and liberal followers felt betrayed. With the power of Twitter to cross-promote, to drive people to see his TV appearances and send each other his YouTube videos, Kutcher is making himself unavoidable even to the people who would never go to see an Ashton Kutcher movie, simply because he's on their computer screens all the time in some form. "I'm not an Ashton Kutcher fan, I don't really care about him," Ojeda-Zapata admits, "but some of the stuff he's done, raising money for mosquito nets, that's cool. It's made him more interesting to me than anything he's done in show business."

But that doesn't mean we have become more interesting to Kutcher. As of now, Kutcher has over three million followers, but he himself is following only a little over 200 people. He wants people to read what he says, but he doesn't necessarily want to read what other people say. Ojeda-Zapata says that refusing to follow people is "not very effective because it's very difficult to have direct interactions with your fans. If there's a reciprocal following, that allows for direct messaging back and forth." But that's true only for people who use it that way. For Kutcher, and many other celebrities, Twitter is a way of confirming their status as show

Kutcher's increased fame doesn't translate into increased success in fields requiring more than 140 characters' worth of thought



business demigods they speak, others follow them intently, and they never have to know or communicate with the millions of people who are hanging onto their every word. Milstein says that she considers Twitter "an intimate medium" that can be used "to further relationships," and that's what it is for many people—but not Kutcher, or for all but a few celebrity tweeters, even Britney Spears, who follows most of her Twitter followers, doesn't usually respond to what they say. When Kutcher beat CNN to the million follower mark, he wrote that this was really a victory for his fans, because "I can't follow myself." You could be forgiven for thinking that he almost sounded disappointed.

Of course, Kutcher's increased fame doesn't necessarily translate into increased success in fields that require more than 140 characters' worth of thought. Like TV, movies or business. In 2007, the year Twitter took off, he started an Internet-based phone service called Ooma. Kutcher lent his celebrity status to lots of commercials and promotional interviews, but by 2008, the business was failing and Kutcher and all the other executives had pulled out of the operation. Rich Buchanan, the current chief marketing officer of the company, says that "no one here now was involved with Ashton and his role at Ooma."

But his name on a disastrous business venture didn't really hurt his fame any more than his name on a disastrous movie, that's not the way celebrity works these days. What matters is Kutcher keeping up his Twitter feed, or linking directly from that feed to his series of Web videos, "Blah Girls" (a *South Park* knock off with crudely animated girls instead of boys). These ventures might keep him one step ahead of other publicity friendly stars like Kanye West, who wrote earlier this year that he doesn't like Twitter because he's "busy being creative most of the time." Kutcher may have realized that the key to continued fame is not creativity, but just making sure that millions of people follow your every movement online. As Simon Dumenco lamented in *Advertising Age* when Kutcher reached the million mark, "using a new media tool, Kutcher is leveraging his fame to make himself more famous by declaring his intention to become, well, even more famous." He makes that sound like a bad thing. For Kutcher, it's all part of the plan. M



STOP THE PRESSES. DON'T EAT THE DEER!

'A previous version of this story incorrectly stated that humans who hunt, kill and eat deer have developed chronic wasting disease. It should state: there is no evidence that humans who hunt, kill and eat deer have developed chronic wasting disease."—*The Seattle Times* correcting a Sept. 11 item about the rapid spread of a brain infection in animals across western North America. Chronic wasting disease is spread between animals via infected feces.

ETHAN MILLER/GETTY; GETTY
PHOTO ILLUSTRATION BY BRADLEY REINHARDT

MAC HOLIDAY.

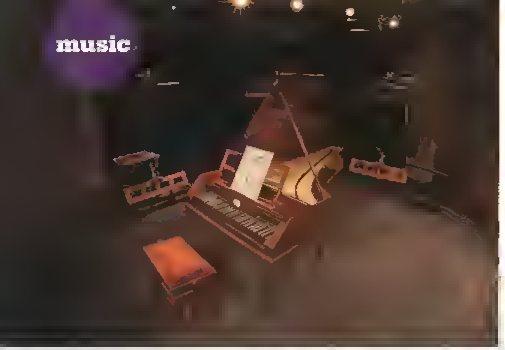
IT'S ALMOST HOLIDAY TIME.
IS THERE A GIFT MORE APPROPRIATE THAN ENLIGHTENMENT?



GIVE THE GIFT OF MACLEAN'S AT WWW.MACLEANS.CA/GIFT

ROGERS

MACLEAN'S
MAKE SENSE OF IT ALL.





THE RECREATION (left) a 2005 replica of a 1782 fortepiano, the Esterhazy Palace in Austria, where Haydn served as house composer

You've never heard Haydn like this

These discs capture the sounds of both the original instruments and performance spaces

BY PAUL WELLS • When Tom Beghin, a Flemish pianist, joined the music faculty at McGill University in 2003, he already had plans to record all of Joseph Haydn's keyboard sonatas. Haydn wrote more than 50 pieces for solo keyboard instruments over nearly 30 years, from 1766 to 1794. "This was to be my 'masterwork,'" Beghin says, "not in a romantic or self glorifying way, but in the 19th century sense of being accepted to a guild."

Beghin's comment reflects both his intellectual ambition and his self-effacing manner. Which may help explain why it is Haydn's music that has become the focus of his life, because that's what Haydn was like. The Austrian composer died 200 years ago this year, so his prolific output has become the focus of new attention. His music's flawless logic is being appreciated anew. His cool, often witty emotional detachment, which led earlier generations to dismiss him as a cold fish, now seems suited to our own skeptical era.

But no project during this Haydn bicentennial year is as surprising as Beghin's. He always planned to record Haydn's works, not on a modern piano, but on new replicas of the original instruments. In the late 1700s, keyboard technology was evolving fast, from harpsichords and clavichords to fortepianos and pianofortes, each coaxing sound from strings in a different way. Beghin approached another new McGill prof, the legendary German record producer and recording engineer Martha de Francisco, to capture the nuances of each instrument in the studio.

It was yet another McGill colleague who brought the wild card. Wieslaw Woszczyk is another recording engineer with a penchant for new technology. He approached Beghin and de Francisco with a challenge: if this was to be Haydn's music on (something like) Haydn's instruments, why not record it in the rooms where it was first performed? Woszczyk knew hauling all those keyboards across Central Europe would cost a mint. So he had an audacious Plan B: why not digitally capture the acoustic characteristics of each room—echo, delay, reverberation and so on—and recreate the sounds of all those rooms in a single Montreal studio?

Beghin, a traditionalist who pores over Haydn's correspondence for clues about his music, was skeptical. "I asked myself, 'Oh, what's next, do we need to use candlesticks? Do we have to wear their clothes?' Which is not so stupid, because it kind of restricts you when you move."

But Woszczyk and de Francisco are not prone to gimmickry, and Beghin let himself be persuaded. The result is *The Virtual Haydn*, a recording of the composer's complete keyboard works, performed by Beghin on seven replica instruments in nine "virtual rooms"—digital equivalents of places like Haydn's own study in Eisenstadt, the *festsaal* in Vienna's Palais Dietrichstein-Lobkowicz and the *spielsaal* in the Esterhazy Palace, where Haydn served as the house composer to nobility.

Woszczyk recorded the characteristics of each room, then channelled that information and Beghin's own fresh notes through a dome of loudspeakers deployed around the keyboardist. To Beghin it sounded like he was playing in those far flung rooms. On disc it sounds like he was recorded on an extended and varied tour. (*The Virtual Haydn* is being released for sale around the world this month and next on Naxos, appropriately in a new format: 14 hours of audio and a full-length video documentary on four Blu-ray discs.) The sound is crisp in small rooms, opulent in grander settings. And because the keyboard technology changes so radically from one set of sonatas to another, we're reminded that this so-called "classical" period didn't feel like a genteel twilight period to the people who lived through it. It felt like one long upheaval.

Most important, the technology allows Beghin to show how much care Haydn took to write music for specific settings. Beghin calls him an "orator," in the sense that a gifted speech maker selects his material and manner to suit each audience. That's far from the romantic ideal of the protagonist who's helpless in the grip of his own fevered genius, and for the longest time Haydn's poise actually played against his reputation.

No fair, says Beghin. "There is no shame in being aware of your technique, being aware of what you do. When I play Haydn, when I listen to Haydn, I never had a sense of incompleteness. He's a full human being, with a full range of emotions." M



MILEY CYRUS . . . HAS SOMETHING TO SAY

I hopped off the plane at LAX / With a dream and my cardigan / Welcome to the land of fame excess / Am I gonna fit in? / Get to the club in my taxi cab / Everybody's lookin' at me now / Like "Who's that chick that's rockin' kicks? / She gotta be from out of town" / So hard with my girls not around me / It's definitely not a Nashville party / 'Cause all I see are stilettos / I guess I never got the memo—Party in the U.S.A., from *The Time of Our Lives*

MATTHEW GOLEM, JEREMY TUSZ



SMALL BUSINESS CASE #249

Type of Company: Furniture Design

of Employees: 48

Owner: Beth Wight

Mantra: We're stronger as a team.

Keeps me up at night: Staying in constant contact with sales teams across the country while keeping wireless costs in check

Business advantage: Forty-eight employees, each armed with a BlackBerry. All marching to the same beat.

GET UNLIMITED NATIONWIDE AND LOCAL TEAM CALLING AND TEXTING[1]



Stay connected for less with unlimited local and coast-to-coast calling and texting for all small businesses. All on a network you can trust.

- Fewest dropped calls and clearest reception
- Canada's only GSM network – the Global Standard since 2001
- 8.2 million Canadians rely on the Rogers Wireless network

With all that Rogers proven network has to offer, it's clear, our competitors have a lot of catching up to do.

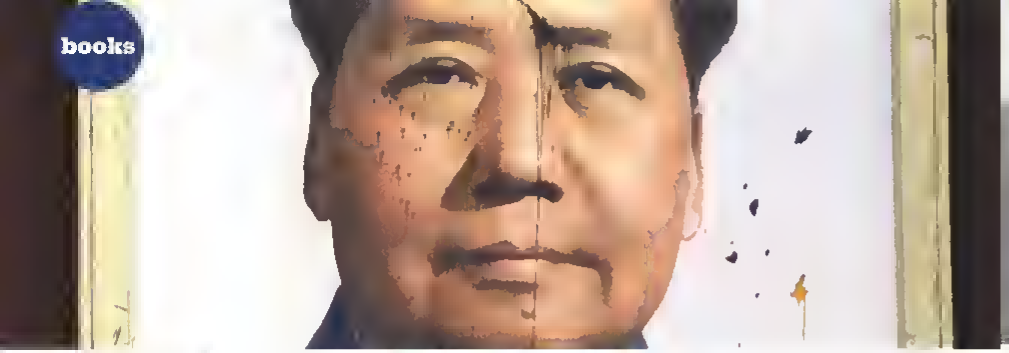
Visit rogers.com/team or call 1 866 253-4026

CANADA'S MOST RELIABLE NETWORK[2]

ROGERS

1 Excludes premium messaging (alerts, messages related to content and promotions) and requires 2+ lines on the same business account number. Available to qualified business customers (with valid proof of business ID) subscribing to select 3-yr term business plans (One Rate plans excluded). 2Most reliable network claim refers to call clarity and dropped calls test results as conducted by Rogers and a recognized third-party research company in the majority of urban Canadian centres within the Rogers Wireless footprint, comparing voice services of the major wireless providers.

™Rogers & Mobius Design are trademarks of or used under license from or with permission of Rogers Communications Inc. or an affiliate. BlackBerry, RIM, Research In Motion, SureType and related trademarks, names and logos are the property of Research In Motion Limited and are registered and/or used in the U.S. and countries around the world, used under license from Research In Motion Limited. All other brand names & logos are trademarks of their respective owners. © 2009 Rogers Wireless



AN ACT OF DEFIANCE In 1989, three men threw paint-filled eggs at the giant portrait of Mao Zedong that looms over Tiananmen Square



YU ZHIJIAN, Yu Dongyue and Lu Decheng (left to right) in a December 1989 photo taken by a guard inside a Hunan province prison

The men who threw egg on Mao

An exclusive excerpt from a new book by Denise Chong tells a harrowing story

In May 1989, three young men from southern China inspired by the student reformers then occupying Tiananmen Square and the hope of freedom sweeping their country travelled 1,500 km to Beijing. Lu Decheng, Yu Zhijian and Yu Dongyue hit on a powerful gesture of defiance against the Communist regime. they would toss paint filled eggs at the giant oil painting of Mao Zedong that dominated the square physically, and all of China symbolically Their act 12 days before the army brutally cleared the square on June 4 exhilarated and outraged witnesses The student protesters themselves, fearing the three men were government agitators turned them over to the authorities At first, as noted in Denise Chong's book, Egg on Mao *in the hopeful atmosphere of the pre crackdown days, Lu Decheng was treated well. But then everything changed*

On June 15, after the evening meal, guards removed Decheng from his cell Waiting officers violently slapped handcuffs on him They shoved and dragged him out into the night Several army trucks, with canvas-covered tops, were idling inside the prison walls Soldiers, helmeted and carrying rifles fixed with bayonets, stood nearby Decheng's captors ordered him to kneel on all fours on the ground behind a truck. One after another, soldiers used him as a stepstool to climb aboard Then, the last of them hauled him into the truck, throwing him face down between the benches on each side With the soldiers now using him as a footrest and their boots pressing him into the gritty floor, Decheng was convinced the army was secretly taking him to be shot He knew how the condemned went to their death kneel on the ground, head bowed, then a bullet to the back of the head Except that in his case, no one but the army would know that he had been killed only that he had disappeared Strangely, he felt devoid of emotion, holding on to the only certainty, death.

Twenty minutes later, the army truck jolted to a stop The engine shuddered into silence Decheng was hauled off, and soldiers trod on the prisoner as they climbed down from the truck Suddenly, a bright light pierced the darkness Decheng saw other army trucks disgorging soldiers, and among them two other handcuffed prisoners, Zhijian and Dongyue They were lit, like him, by a camera crew filming their arrival

Soldiers marched the trio toward a small building Inside were even more armed soldiers Now Decheng considered death imminent Soldiers called their names one by one and led each of the three forward to sign documents Decheng assumed these were their death warrants When his turn came, he saw that the document before him was instead to acknowledge his formal arrest and the charges against him He felt his first glimmer of hope, a formal arrest meant a court proceeding, a court proceeding meant a public record of the sentence If death came, his wife and family would learn of it, and would not be left to wonder about his fate.

Decheng and his two friends were incarcerated—again, apart from each other—at Banbuqiao Prison, locally known as the Half Step Bridge Detention Centre Built a century ago, it was a short walk across a bridge from the prison to the execution ground, so prisoners were said to be a half step from death Life at this maximum security prison was starkly different from the Eastern District Detention Centre Prisoners awaiting trial were shackled 24 hours a day Rations were paltry Breakfast was a bowl of congee made from ground corn, and a bowl of potato scraps and a few tough leaves of preserved cabbage, with a scattering of chili seeds Lunch and supper were two *wotou*, steamed cornmeal buns called "barbarian heads" because of their pointed shape *Wotou* were the poor man's food in the north, one alone made for a bloated stomach, yet the more one ate, the hungrier one felt

On his fifth day, Decheng and a cellmate, Lu Guo, noticed their breakfast was enlivened with sugar Lu Guo's crime had been to try to stop the advance of a tank in the early hours of June 4 by setting it on fire After breakfast, the guards hollered out Lu Guo's name and took him away to court for sentencing Later that day, a guard came to the cell and a respectful silence fell over the place as he cleared out Lu Guo's belongings It was then that Decheng learned the sweetness of the congee served as bitter notice that this would be someone's last breakfast

Dignity, the only sustenance that mattered, was a struggle to maintain. The ever present handcuffs cut deeply into Decheng's wrists and stiffened his hands and arms Eating when wearing handcuffs was easiest if the bowl was placed on the floor Going to the washroom was especially awkward for shackled prisoners. Twice a day, a guard would announce a 10 minute toilet break with a count, "One, two, three!" and 30 to 40 prisoners of his cellblock made a dash for it To help accommodate everyone in the short time, the cell boss would instruct inmates, in anticipation of the count, when to massage their stomachs to bring themselves to the verge of defecation Once at the toilets, the handcuffed inmates needed help with their trousers, before and after Regularly, while waiting for a space, one or more would panic and soil the floor Hurling abuse at the unfortunate prisoners, the guards would make them use their own clothes to mop up the mess

A van ride out of the prison announced to the trio the arrival of their trial date Armed guards led them into a courtroom To the judge's left sat two public prosecutors and a court cameraman recording the entire session To his right was the court clerk, and sitting beside him, their court-appointed lawyers. The three men from Hunan entered the prisoners' box and remained standing Behind them sat guards, and behind the guards was a gallery of about 100 people, all strangers to the defendants. The prosecutors read the charge and prosecution documents explaining the case against each of them Only once during the trial did Decheng listen with curiosity to the evidence—when the prosecution cited the dimensions of Mao's portrait—six metres by 4 6 m—and showed numerous photographs taken by the management office of Tiananmen Square, documenting where paint and egg had found their mark After only two hours, the trial was wrapping up Judge Ding turned to the three accused "What do you have to say about all this?"

Zhijian made an eloquent statement. He explained their political views their motives, and what they'd wanted to achieve He elaborated on why they attacked Mao's iconic portrait and interpreted the parallel slogans they'd posted underneath it

Repeatedly, the prosecution interrupted Zhijian. "Stay with the facts! Stop speaking as if you are trying to defend your action!"

Judge Ding, growing impatient, asked several times, "Are you finished?"

Zhijian persisted and after 20 minutes concluded his discourse.

It was Dongyue's turn If seized with inspiration, he could be given to speaking quickly and without pause If not, he either spoke in monosyllables or remained silent In this instance, he was succinct, saying only that he accepted responsibility for his actions

Decheng reiterated what Dongyue had said, adding that he hoped the court would be fair in its judgment and sentencing.

The judge called a recess Minutes later, the court reconvened and he gave his decision guilty on all charges The verdict was no surprise, defendants who got to the point of arrest and a trial were presumed to be guilty of all charges. The judge announced that sentencing would be held over to the following month The trial was over

"LU DECHENG"

The way the guard called his name, every one in the cellblock knew this was his day of sentencing Prisoners fell quiet Oddly, Decheng felt no tension Why he should feel so relaxed he didn't know A fellow prisoner helped him fasten the two top buttons on his jacket, which by now hung grotesquely from his skinny frame

"Hey! Who's in charge of opening this door?!" Decheng called out He couldn't recall, had the congee been sweeter that morning? Thirty days had passed since the trial The same entourage reassembled in the same courtroom with Judge Ding again presiding Decheng stood with his two friends in the prisoners' box to hear the sentences Yu Zhijian, life imprisonment *He's going to live* Yu Dongyue, 20 years *He will too* Finally, Lu Decheng, 16 years *All three of us*

EPILOGUE

Released after nine years of psychological torture and harsh physical labour, Lu managed to make his way to Canada in 2006 There he met author Denise Chong, who would soon find herself involved in Lu's continuing story, as she reports exclusively in Maclean's.

Lu had escaped China by trekking over mountains and through jungle, into Burma, then into Thailand, afterwards the Chinese government refused his wife, Xialing, and young son, Mang, exit visas Lu and his private sponsors in Calgary, some of them involved in Chinese pro-democracy movements abroad, decided on a new tactic His wife would apply for a seven day tourism permit to Hong Kong, from where she would attempt escape, with hopes that police there, unlike in China, might be unsuspecting Officials in Luyang, where she lived, scoffed at her playing tourist Still, she reapplied, only to be refused again and again

Abruptly and without explanation, about a year later, officials granted her a permit My telephone rang in Ottawa. It was Lu and his friends in Calgary, seeking my views on what to do next. We decided Lu's wife should move with all haste. The next day, Xialing and Mang, then 8, left their flat, carrying only an overnight bag They boarded a bus to the busiest land crossing into Hong Kong—we'd ruled out air and rail on the thinking that officials check such passengers more closely Even as the two of them rode the bus, I conferred urgently with friends working in human rights At their intervention, Canadian diplomats worked, some around the clock, to ready the necessary visas

We tracked their progress by cellphone, all the while wondering if Chinese police were doing the same Once into Hong Kong, Lu's wife bought a new cellphone—we'd advised her to ditch her old one—and picked up the Canadian visas The most anxious interval of silence came once we knew they were at the airport Would Hong Kong police or officials stop them when they checked in? At passport control? The gate? Detain them or arrest them? Finally, Lu's cellphone rang again in Calgary His wife said she and their son were on board, the doors of the plane had closed, it was readying for takeoff Tears flowed

Far away in Ottawa, when word reached me, mine did too M



Excerpted from Egg on Mao *Copyright © 2009 Denise Chong Reproduced by arrangement with publisher Random House Canada. All rights reserved*

MARK AVERY/AP

HYUNGWON KANG/REUTERS



LONELY UNDERDOG Michael Moore at the New York Stock Exchange in a scene from *Capitalism: A Love Story*, which opens Oct 2

Is this Moore's last documentary?

If people aren't going to rise up, why bother? That's too bad: 'Capitalism' is his best one yet.

BY BRIAN D JOHNSON • Michael Moore is frustrated. He's the most commercially successful documentary filmmaker in history. He's won an Oscar and a Palme d'Or from Cannes. And while the American Dream lies in ruins, he's become an odd embodiment of it, acquiring fame and wealth by serving as scrappy champion of the poor—capitalism's Little Tramp, as the *New York Times* dubbed him. But Moore is getting weary of the role. Two years ago, he made *Sicko* to expose the horrors of private health insurance, only to see his showroom-perfect new President savaged in a losing battle for publicly funded health care. So last week, as Moore launched *Capitalism: A Love Story* at the Toronto International Film Festival, he threatened to take his marbles and go home. If the people aren't going to rise up, he may quit documentaries altogether and do what he's often been accused of doing all along—make fiction movies.

That's too bad, because Moore is at the top of his game. *Capitalism: A Love Story* may be the best film of his career. In all the debate over his politics, Moore's artistry tends to get overlooked, but this blunt instrument in a ball cap has, in fact, become a highly sophisticated filmmaker—something he feels he gets no respect for. "I never have a discussion with anyone about the art of this,' Moore told me recently, 'or how much time or effort I put into trying to make a really great movie. But I'm a filmmaker. I don't run a political organization. That is part of why I'm feeling this way. I have movies I want to make. I led the charge during the eight years of Bush, and it would be nice to have some help so I can go make that romantic comedy."

A Michael Moore romcom? Really? Moore explains that he's speaking "generically," then refuses to divulge details of the fictional script he's now writing—his first since the ill-fated *Canadian Bacon* (1995). But he says he treated *Capitalism* as if it were his final documentary. Arriving 20 years after Moore launched his career at TIFF with *Roger & Me*, it does feel like a culmination, spelling out the message that underlies every one of his films. As he says, it's the "big enchilada."

By taking on capitalism as a whole, Moore finally has a target to match his bravura ambition. And the timing is perfect. The economic collapse hit while he was in the thick of shooting the film. His notion of capitalist villainy was suddenly fashionable, and in the debris of the recession, he dug up some astonishing dirt. We meet a jolly real estate agent from an outfit called Condo Vultures who flips foreclosed homes for a quick profit. We meet commercial airline pilots who use food stamps and sell their own plasma to supplement their meagre incomes. And he discovers "dead peasant" life insurance policies that corporations take out on employees, gambling that they'll meet an early death. There's nothing illegal about Condo Vultures or dead peasant insurance. That's Moore's point. Reminding us he's still a Roman Catholic, he enlists various priests to confirm that capitalism is evil—an almighty casino where "we've allowed them to bet on anything."

Although Moore argues that we must eliminate capitalism, the movie is not as inflammatory, or ideological, as it sounds. Sure, he kicks it off with a surveillance tape of a bank robbery to the tune of Iggy Pop singing *Louie Louie*, then lends a sympathetic ear to a guy who's itching to make an armed withdrawal after losing his home to foreclosure. But in the end, rather than making a pitch for socialism, the director seems to pine for a kinder, gentler capitalism, invoking the liberal spirit of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Without resorting to cheap shots or lurid pathos, as he often does, Moore finds a crafty balance between satire and sentiment. He's become a virtuoso of satirical montage, and *Capitalism* is full of archival gems that illustrate a long trail of incest between Washington and Wall Street—such as former Merrill Lynch CEO Don Regan turning to Ronald Reagan during a speech and ordering the president to "speed it up."

Moore, meanwhile, has softened his bully boy persona, and trots out his trademark guerrilla stunts like an old soft-shoe. When he pulls up to a bank headquarters in an armoured truck to ask the boss to return a bailout, he's more wistful than angry. Which is funnier. But the Flint firebrand has become the sad clown. He says he just wants to make movies, the popcorn kind. But like that Little Tramp, he's forever typecast as the lonely underdog, stuck in a movie of his own making. M



WE'RE STALKING... JESSICA SIMPSON

Simpson was sure she'd be able to find her lost maltipoo, Daisy, who was last seen being snatched up by a coyote. "Still holding out hope," she announced last week on Twitter. "Daisy is my baby. Why would I stop searching? I'm a mom." But on Friday, after a professional dog-finding service helped her scour the streets with tracking dogs, put up posters and call 1,000 neighbours, Jessica finally called off the search.

How many reasons do you need to fly to Vienna? We've got them all.

Your vacation starts the minute you step onboard your Austrian flight. Vienna waits for you. What are you waiting for?

Vienna starting from $688*

TAXES OF $292 ARE EXTRA AND NOT INCLUDED

All packages include round trip economy class air fare on Austrian Airlines and 2 nights in a charming 4 star hotel.

Call 1-800-EUROPE-1 or visit www.ViennaDeal.com.
Earn miles with Miles & More and Aeroplan.

Austrian
We fly for your smile





www.vienna.info

www.austrian.com

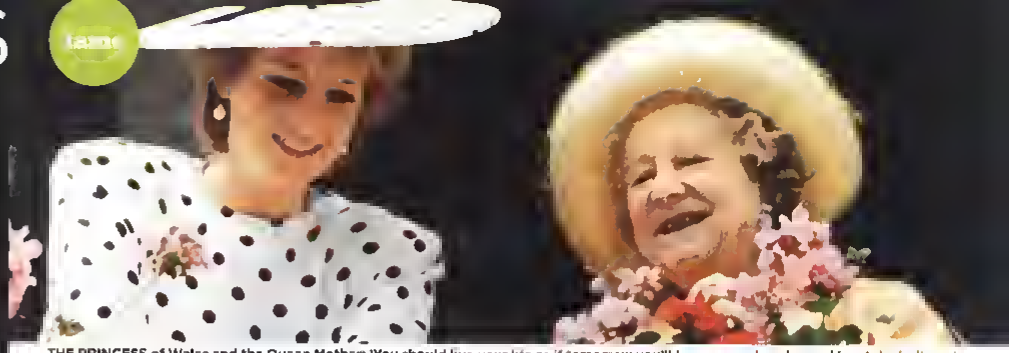
Price is per person in double occupancy staying at the Hotel Prinz Eugen or similar for two nights. The promotion is subject to availability and to limited capacity and is sold on a first come-first served basis. It is available and valid only for new book ings on direct flights from Toronto to Vienna and back, operated by Austrian Airlines through Dec.10, 2009. Maximum stay- 2 months. Other restrictions apply. Price varies from $688 to $959 depending on hotel and air tariff category selection. Kompas Express T.A., 741 Bloor W. Toronto, Ontario – TICO1333258. Further info is available from your travel agent.

ONE GAME NEW PRICES



Thursday, December 3 8:20PM Rogers Centre

BILLSINTORONTO.COM



THE PRINCESS of Wales and the Queen Mother 'You should live your life as if tomorrow you'll be run over by a big red bus,' she believed

The incurably cheerful Queen Mum

A new biography talks about her unabashed enjoyment of life and surprising friendships

BY BRIAN BETHUNE • The 20th century is rich with iconic figures, but in many ways no one, at least not in the former British Empire, embodied it better than the child born Elizabeth Angela Marguerite Bowes-Lyon on Aug. 4, 1900. Queen Elizabeth II's mother was born on the cusp of the century and turned 14 on the day the Great War began. Thrust unexpectedly into prominence by her brother-in-law's abdication and widowed for almost half her life, the last empress of India lived through all of Britain's modern changes, dying at the age of 101 in 2002. As William Shawcross points out in his massive official biography *Queen Elizabeth The Queen Mother* (HarperCollins)—1,096 pages weighing in at two kilograms—the organizers of her 100th birthday celebrations got it just right.

About 450 adults and children—some in dress up, some the real thing—paraded the 20th century past Elizabeth on her flower-bedecked dais. First World War troops, ballroom dancers from the '20s, a Blitz-era fire engine, VE Day revellers from 1945, Enid Blyton's Noddy in his postwar yellow car, James Bond's 1960s Aston Martin, punk rockers and—more bizarrely—Hells Angels on motorcycles. Spitfires, Hurricanes and Lancasters flew over, while the band played on.

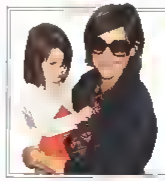
But Elizabeth's personification of her era was more than a mere matter of longevity. There was also the extraordinary range of her social circle, as reflected in the volume of her correspondence—the main reason Shawcross's book has the literal heft it does. That remains true even though her daughter, Margaret, burned many of the letters royalty watchers most wanted to read—entire bagfuls of them sent by Diana, the unhappy princess of Wales. The Queen Mother wrote everyone from playwright Noël Coward to undiscovered spy Anthony Blunt to poet laureate Ted Hughes, and not just about her passion for horse racing. "I am starting to read the unexpurgated edition of *Mein Kampf*," she wrote her formidable mother-in-law, Queen Mary, from the ocean liner taking her and her husband, King George VI, to Canada in May 1939. "Have you read it, Mama?"

She was born to privilege, of course, and had an unabashed enjoyment of the good things in life, from a spectacular art collection to dry martinis. But she was also born to duty. From innate temperament and because it was the way Elizabeth believed queens should behave, she was incurably cheerful: "Ah, Cold Lake!" she beamed at worried Canadian officials when bad weather diverted her plane to the Alberta military base in 1985. "I've always wanted to come here." The Queen Mother maintained her optimism with a defiant avoidance of bad news—her family nickname was "the imperial ostrich." When things went wrong, "amongst members of the family in their marriages or whatever, she hated it," explains Shawcross. The 1990s, with their royal divorces and scandals, were distressing, worse still was the younger generation's willingness to discuss it in public. "It's always a mistake to talk about your marriage," she declared.

Elizabeth's sunny outlook kept her interested in making friends her entire life. She was in her 80s before she met Hughes, vilified in much of public opinion after the suicide of his wife, poet Sylvia Plath. He was 30 years the Queen Mother's junior, but it was he who was strengthened by the relationship. "When I remember your words, 'We must be strong!' I feel it like a huge smile of joy, like a surge from a tremendous battery," he wrote her. At his memorial service in Westminster Abbey, 98-year-old Elizabeth walked the achingly long aisle on the arm of Prince Charles.

Even as her health deteriorated—she had two cancers removed (a colon tumour in the 1960s, and one in the breast in 1984), and her eyesight was almost gone in her last decade—and she outlived her friends, Elizabeth refused to think too far ahead. When, during the '90s, Princess Di told her that everyone was looking forward to a grand 100th party, Elizabeth responded, "Oh, you mustn't say that, it's unlucky. I mean I might be run over by a big red bus. Wouldn't it be terrible if you'd spent all your life doing everything you were supposed to do, and suddenly you were run over by a big red bus? As the wheels were crunching into you you'd say 'Oh my God, I could have got so drunk last night!' That's the way you should live your life, as if tomorrow you'll be run over by a big red bus." No one followed her advice better than she did. M

With Patricia Treble



SURI CRUISE

At a Beyoncé concert in Australia with mom Katie Holmes, three-year-old Suri Cruise threw a tiny tantrum. Just as Beyoncé started to perform her hit *Crazy in Love*, Suri clapped her hands over her ears, buried her face in mom's shoulder and generally made a fuss (it must have been past her bedtime.) Not wanting to miss the show, Holmes briefly took the toddler outside the stadium and returned with Suri sporting a pair of industrial earmuffs.

CP

MARKETPLACE

PSORIASIS
VITILIGO
VITAMIN-D
Medical
UVB
Lighting
Systems
for the Home

POTTA
UNO 24
An entire day at a glance.
USD $380

UNUSUAL EUROPEAN TIMEPIECES

RUFUS
LIN
DESIGNS
Free catalog 1-866-75-RUFUS
www.rufuslin.com

Reach .5 million readers every week.
To advertise here contact us at 416-764-1500 or adsales@macleans.ca
MACLEAN'S

TO LEARN ABOUT ADVERTISING OPPORTUNITIES PLEASE CONTACT 416-764-1500 OR ADSALES@MACLEANS.CA

2ND ANNUAL
PROFIT
SMALL BUSINESS SHOW

SUCCESS STRATEGIES
FOR YOUR BUSINESS

Whether you're growing an established enterprise or have a big idea for a new company, the PROFIT Small Business Show will help you uncover the steps you need to take your venture to the next level.


Arlene Dickinson Kevin O'Leary

FEATURE PRESENTATION
LESSONS FROM THE DRAGONS' DEN
Arlene Dickinson and Kevin O'Leary
In this live Q&A, the stars of CBC's hit series Dragons' Den offer their no-holds-barred opinions on everything from how to pitch your idea to where to find today's hottest opportunities

FREE ONLINE EVENT
OCT. 15.09

HIGHLIGHTS INCLUDE

THE SECRET TO FAST GROWTH
Dan MacDonald, Co-Founder Business Improvement Solutions
Learn how vision can be used to outperform the competition and accelerate your company's growth

THE POWER OF FREE PR
Susan Sommers, President, Susan Sommers + Associates
Acquire practical tools and advice to build media relations and get free PR for your company

SEO STRATEGIES THAT WORK!
Scott Wilson CEO, RankHigher.ca
Discover how to win first-page Google search results for your products and services

HOW TO GROW WITH SOCIAL MEDIA
Andrew Patricio, Co-Founder, BizLaunch
Create an online community and loyal customer following using Facebook, LinkedIn, YouTube, Twitter, and blogging

Register today:
PROFITguide.com/smallbusinessshow

PROFIT MAGAZINE
SPONSOR ROGERS



THE 'ECO-SEXY' market for sex toys is based on the assumption that even one's orgasm can have a traceable carbon footprint

Good for her, great for the planet

Greening the sex toy industry is the new eco rallying cry. You could call it…climax change.

BY ANNE KINGSTON • Browsing through the luxe Coco de Mer store in Los Angeles it's easy to be so overwhelmed by the opulence of some of the offerings—a US$10,500 18-carat gold vibrator that looks like a tiny Brâncusi sculpture, a US$1,200 Bretony Vernon "petting ring" designed to stimulate more than the eye—that one can lose sight of the U.K.-based retailer's nobler intent: to promote eco-sensitive, socially responsible erotic delight. Merchandise has been chosen with The Planet and human rights uppermost in mind; fair trade is practised, local artisans are supported and there's none of the tawdry quality often associated with products labelled "for novelty use only." (Most of the vibrators, for instance, are made with non-porous medical-grade silicone.) Sure, you might wonder: Why shell out US$65 for a "fair trade" blindfold when it's greener to improvise with a scarf you own? But think of it this way: no workers have been exploited in your quest to get your rocks off—which can only add to the pleasure.

Coco de Mer's bawdy Body Shop vibe comes naturally: it was founded in 2001 by Sam Roddick, the daughter of Anita Roddick, the British entrepreneur and activist who brought the world cocoa butter body scrub; her sister, Justine, runs the North American operations. A New York City store will open in November, and outlets in Canada are a definite possibility, says Justine Roddick, speaking from her office in Santa Barbara, Calif., given the amount of Canadian online ordering. ("Eight out of 10 are for sex toys that vibrate," she reports.)

As a pioneering company, Coco de Mer aims to educate. "When customers come into our store they're not necessarily looking for ethically made and sourced nipple tassles," Roddick admits. "But how great when you're twirling them around to feel 'This isn't made by a sweatshop in Taiwan.'"

Greening the sex toy industry has become a rallying cry among environmentalists eager to end the drawer of dead sex toys destined for landfills. Vanessa Vadim, columnist for the Mother Nature Network, recently took up the cause, recommending "accessories made from sustainably harvested and recycled substances such as leather, glass, metal, or wood. And don't neglect the vegetable drawer (locally grown and organic, of course)."

The fact that even one's orgasm can have a traceable carbon footprint underlies the emerging "eco-sexy" market, one that embraces products like the "We-Vibe," a small, rechargeable $138 vibrator created by Bruce Murison of North Gower, Ont., after he was laid off from Nortel: the lead-free, phthalate-free and carbon-neutral gizmo was named "sex toy of the year" in 2008 by sex educator Sue Johanson.

Part of what's fuelled the search for healthy alternatives is the fact that sex toys are less regulated than dog toys. "They can be made out of any old rubbish and they usually are," says Roddick. In Canada, legislators are starting to crack down on the use of phthalates, the chemicals used to make plastics soft and flexible, in children's toys. But they remain in ostrich mode when talking about adult toys. "It comes down to parliamentarians being too shy to stand up and include sexual products in the list of recalled products," says Janna Sylvest, who founded the popular Vancouver sex shop Womyns' Ware in 1995 and who now boasts that less than one per cent of their wares are made in China.

Demand for fair-trade sourced, eco-sensitive product prompted sisters Amy and Kim Sedgwick, who own Red Tent Sisters, a Toronto store dedicated to women's sexual and reproductive health, to launch *ecosex.ca* two months ago. Its stock includes organic vegan lubricant, as well as elaborate dildos and butt plugs fashioned from "100 per cent sustainably managed" hardwood and bamboo. Splinters are an initial concern for customers, says Kim Sedgwick, who assures the wood has a medical grade finish. She also enthuses about the virtues of glass. "It warms up and becomes super slippery with lube, can be cleaned in the dishwasher and can last a lifetime." Plus, "it can be left out like a piece of art."

And that, no doubt, will happen increasingly as sex toys finally shed their stigma and emerge as proud badges of eco-awareness. Sylvest sees a new militance emerging. "We're getting the first consumer wave to demand the same quality from their sex toys that they're demanding for their children's food," she says. Until that happens, the sisters will have to continue to do it for themselves. M

ISTOCK GETTY · PHOTO ILLUSTRATION BY ADAM CHOLEWA



WHAT THEY GOT FOR IT A DOZEN MANGOES
An Australian man paid $37,000 for a bit of fruit—the most ever spent at an auction down under for a box of mangoes, and a huge increase from last year's $6,700 winning bid. Peter Quattrovdle's purchase price, which works out to more than $3,000 per mango, will be donated to a children's hospital and a prostate foundation. "I have three beautiful children and wanted to give something back," he said. A good business year spurred his decision.



MONA RAMOUNI on the bus with her guide horse, Cali, in Lincoln Park, Mich. Ramouni's parents didn't want a dog in the house.



DOUGLAS MCCUE in front of his home in Perth, Ont. In March McCue closed his B & B.

The case for the seeing-eye horse

What if a blind man with a guide dog had taken on a Muslim bed-and-breakfast owner?



MARK STEYN

What's new in the exciting world of Canadian "human rights"?

Well, the other day Kelly Egan of the *Ottawa Citizen* reported the story of a gay bed-and-breakfast owner allergic to dogs who got hauled in for "mediation" by the "Human Rights" Tribunal of Ontario after he turned away a blind man with a Seeing Eye dog Douglas McCue, 68, of the CornerStone B & B in Perth, Ont., suffers from acute sinus itis aggravated by exposure to canines. Ian Martin, a blind diabetic, responded with a lawyer's letter and a demand for compensation that started at two grand and quickly escalated into five figures.

As a notorious homophobic disablist, I don't have a dog in this fight. Unfortunately, neither did Mr. McCue. After "mediation," he cut the plaintiff a cheque for 700 bucks and expressed his "sincere regret," which is to say it was entirely insincere but mandated by the state. And then he closed his bed and breakfast. No longer will Ontario vacationers face the scourge of caninophobic homosexual innkeepers.

Perhaps Mr. Martin could buy the Corner Stone from Mr. McCue and run it happily as a non-discriminatory B & B celebrating the diversity of Canada's guide-dog mosaic. At least until a litigious imam shows up and complains to the HRTO that having to put up with a filthy mutt wandering round the dining room is grossly offensive to him as a Muslim, and that as tolerant progressive Canadians we need to send a strong signal to Islamophobic blind hoteliers.

After all, why does he need a dog? Earlier this year, Mona Ramouni, a blind Muslim from Dearborn, Mich., began taking her seeing-eye horse on the bus with her. Dogs "violate ritual purity," a spokesperson for the Council on American-Islamic Relations explained to the *Chicago Tribune*. So Cali, a three-year-old miniature former show horse who started training with Miss Ramouni last November, is the perfect compromise, acceptable to Muslims, the blind, and dog-fearing gays alike. A "human rights" tribunal genuinely committed to "mediation" would surely have ordered the government to replace all guide dogs with publicly funded seeing-eye horses by the spring of 2010. The superfluous pooches could be retrained as guard dogs at the new detention facility for equinophobic bus drivers.

A few months back, at an appearance in Ottawa with my fellow free-speech campaigner Ezra Levant, I conceded that, as a couple of right-wing blowhards, we did not make very fetching victims, and that, if you were casting this thing for maximum public appeal, you'd ditch Ezra and me and replace us with David Suzuki and Margaret Atwood. But the truth is that most of the victims of the Canadian "human rights" racket are very appealing. Mr. McCue isn't an extremist nut like yours truly: he's a nice gay. What did he do to deserve being put out of business by the government of Ontario? What did Gator Ted, the Burlington bar owner in the interminable investigation into the "human right" to smoke marijuana on someone else's property, do to merit his years in Ontario "human rights" hell? Or John Fulton, the St. Catharines fitness club owner who expressed misgivings about letting a pre-op transsexual (i.e., still flying the old meat and two veg) use the ladies' shower because his female clients might not be comfortable with it. Two years on, the plaintiff is now a full-blown plaintifette, having relocated to Ottawa and ditched the wedding tackle en route, and the "human rights" regime remains determined to do the same metaphorically, to Mr. Fulton: cut his nuts off.

Let's take it as read that, as the Ontario "Human Rights" Commission made clear in its drive-through verdict in the *Maclean's* case, I'm a hater. Hate is my business. Hate is my middle name. Hating is where I'm at. I love to hate and I hate to love. "Hate monger, hate-monger, mong me some hate," I trill to myself in the mirror every morning. So, when Barbara Hall, Chief Commissar of the OHRC, decides to catch my eye, I couldn't be happier, or hatier.

> 'Hate-monger, hate-monger, mong me some hate,' I trill to myself in the mirror every day

But Gator Ted and Douglas McCue aren't in the hate biz. They're not even mildly "right wing." They're just fellows trying to keep their heads down and make a living. For years John Fulton co-sponsored the annual St. Catharines AIDS walk. Does that sound like some frothing Steynian homophobic bigot? Well, a fat lot of good the LGBT outreach did him come the day the "human rights" enforcers showed up to ruin his life. Put yourself in the shoes of these defendants: a guy wants to smoke medical marijuana on the premises of your restaurant. Do you refuse and get plunged into a "human rights" nightmare? Or do you string along with his hitherto unknown "human right" and get sued when the trucker sitting on the bar stool next to him fails his drug test? Do you decline to let the pre-op use the ladies' changing room and get a "human rights" complaint? Or permit the Big Swinging Dick to have the run of the shower and get a whole bunch of other suits from his outraged female members? Do you rebuff the Seeing Eye dog and lose your business? Or do you let him in and lose your clientele? (Mr. McCue keeps hypoallergenic bedding in his guest rooms for some of his regulars, and, as I understand it, gay men are more prone to sinusitis.)

The reality is there is no correct answer to any of the above: as I said a couple of weeks back, tyranny is always whimsical. Which is exactly how the social engineers of the "human rights" *nomenklatura* like it. Because it legitimizes the state as the only valid mediator of social relations. And so in the cause of invented rights of near-parodic absurdity, a profoundly wicked "human rights" apparatus is happy to destroy utterly the lives and livelihoods of blameless individuals.

The *Ottawa Citizen*'s report on Mr. McCue's travails was headlined "When two rights go wrong," although what followed never quite spelled out what rights were at issue here: the right to vacation while blind vs. the right to inn-keep while gay? The *Citizen*'s headline writer didn't seem to mean anything more than that the two parties both belonged to approved victim groups. At which point the whole "human rights" racket starts to fall apart. It used to be simpler. Jews vs. neo-Nazis? Muslims vs. Steyn? Gays vs. Christians? Easy calls all. The last time gays, B & Bs and the "human rights" commission were in the news was a couple of years back, when Dagmar and Arnost Cepica closed their bed and breakfast rather than comply with a P.E.I. HRC ruling that they rent the room to a homosexual couple. We all knew who to root for back then: obviously if the uptight squaresville Christian couple are that hung up on the godless sodomites going at it like the clappers in their premium rental unit they shouldn't be in the B & B business at all.

What goes around comes around. But, in the dog-bites-gay case, the upshot seems to be that persons with sinusitis no longer enjoy the human right to run a B & B. Which may not seem a big deal, but is certainly at odds with the "human rights" establishment's deference to say, Micheline Montreuil, the transgendered lawyer and serial plaintiff against the Canadian Forces and other transphobic putative employers. But what it ultimately portends is the death of "public accommodation," the concept by which the state claims the right to regulate what goes on in your health club or restaurant. As many readers point out, we homophobic-Islamophobic haters are a dying breed: any day now I'm bound to keel over from a massive stroke, and the reafter gays, Muslims and Seeing Eye dogs will gambol and frolic in harmony throughout the peaceable kingdom. Yet the shifting hierarchies of multiculturalism are not too hard to discern in Britain, an educational establishment gung-ho about forcing the kindergartners of evangelical Christians to be taught the joys of same-sex marriage crumbled in nothing flat when Muslim parents in Bristol objected. If it's a choice between Heather Has Two Mommies or Heather Has Four Mommies And A Big Bearded Daddy Who Wants To Marry Her Off To A Cousin Back In Pakistan, bet on the latter. Any gay couple or blind man with a Seeing Eye dog who takes on a Muslim bed-and-breakfast proprietor will get short shrift from the "human rights" commission. The OHRC is currently champing at the bit to force gay altar servers on Ontario Catholics. At the local mosque, no imam need worry about such state encroachments on religion.

The "human rights" bureaucracy has had a grand run sticking it to Christians and other unfashionable groups. The internal contradictions of the rainbow coalition will prove harder to negotiate. M

CARLOS OSORIO/CP

JOHN MAJOR/THE OTTAWA CITIZEN

MACLEAN'S

BESTSELLERS

COMPILED BY BRIAN BETHUNE

Fiction

1	**THE LOST SYMBOL** by Dan Brown	(1)	
2	**THE YEAR OF THE FLOOD** by Margaret Atwood	2 (2)	
3	**TOO MUCH HAPPINESS** by Alice Munro	1 (4)	
4	**THE GIRL WHO PLAYED WITH FIRE** by Stieg Larsson	3 (8)	
5	**THE WHITE QUEEN** by Philippa Gregory	4 (5)	
6	**GENERATION A** by Douglas Coupland	7 (3)	
7	**GALORE** by Michael Crummey	8 (4)	
8	**SOUTH OF BROAD** by Pat Conroy	5 (6)	
9	**NOMER & LANGLEY** by E.L. Doctorow	10 (3)	
10	**LOVE AND SUMMER** by William Trevor	6 (3)	

Non-fiction

1	**TRUE COMPASS** by Edward Kennedy	3 (2)	
2	**EMPIRE OF ILLUSION** by Chris Hedges	1 (8)	
3	**THE STORM OF WAR** by Andrew Roberts	(1)	
4	**OUTLIERS** by Malcolm Gladwell	2 (43)	
5	**WHERE MEN WIN GLORY** by John Krakauer	(1)	
6	**THE GREATEST SHOW ON EARTH** by Richard Dawkins	(1)	
7	**THE EVOLUTION OF GOD** by Robert Wright	6 (10)	
8	**WHY YOUR WORLD IS ABOUT TO GET A WHOLE LOT SMALLER** by Jeff Rubin	5 (16)	
9	**HOW TO BE A MEHTSH** by Michael Wex	(1)	
10	**THE CELLO SUITES** by Eric Siblin	9 (27)	

LAST WEEK (WEEKS ON LIST)

ON THE WEB: For book reviews, feature articles, interviews and recommended reading by celebrities, check out our new Books Page at **macleans.ca/books**



'NOTHIN' LEFT TO TALK ABOUT'? That's just not true. Van Halen, though, build a pretty convincing case. Yes, why not 'go ahead, jump'?

Is it really only the lonely who play?

For decades, the wisdom of 1980s songs has led and guided us. But are their claims true?



SCOTT FESCHUK

It's time to set the record straight once and for all. Claims made in 1980s song lyrics—true or false?

There's nothin' left to talk about
Unless it's horizontally
—Olivia Newton-John

FALSE. Have you discussed the deteriorating situation in the Middle East, the magnetic properties of iron based superconductors or how drunk studio execs must have been to green-light *Xanadu*? Didn't think so.

It's like I told you
Only the lonely can play
—The Motels

TRUE. We're talking about sudoku, yes?

Some will win, some will lose
Some were born to sing the blues
—Journey

TRUE but incomplete. For instance, top researchers have concluded that some like it hot whereas some sweat when the heat is on. Further to that point, some feel the heat and decide that they can't go on. To sum up, it is widely believed that some guys have all the luck while some guys have all the pain/do nothing but complain.

In a big country dreams stay with you
Like a lover's voice 'cross the mountainside
—Big Country

FALSE. There's no way a lover's voice can stay with you 'cross the *entire* mountainside (obvious exception: if you're making it with the Ricola guy).

Time can never mend
The careless whispers of a good friend
—Wham!

TRUE. FYI, time also makes for a flimsy gauze with which to staunch arterial bleeding.

Today's music ain't got the same soul
I like that old time rock 'n' roll
—Bob Seger

Thus is so **TRUE.** Music had so much more "soul" when it was licensed to a global automotive corporation and used to market a line of pickup trucks as possessing a durability similar to that of "a rock."

We didn't start the fire
No we didn't light it
But we tried to fight it
—Billy Joel

TRUE. Everyone remembers how Billy Joel and his contemporaries selflessly tried to banish evil and misfortune from the world with strippers and coke parties. Somehow, they came up short.

We're living in a powder keg
and giving off sparks
—Bonnie Tyler

If **TRUE**, then definitely **UNWISE.** The powder keg's landlord specifically warned against that kind of thing. For God's sake, it's all right there in the lease.

You can look at the menu
But you just can't eat
—Howard Jones

TRUE. I guess. Hard to say for sure—no artist before has ever likened the emotional strain of forbidden love to the experience of trying to get served at McDonald's while shirtless.

Might as well jump. Jump!
Go ahead, jump
Might as well jump. Jump!
Go ahead, jump
Get it and jump. Jump!
Go ahead, jump
—Van Halen

TRUE. Hard to argue, really—they build a pretty convincing case.

The problem's plain to see: too much technology
Machines to save our lives. Machines de-humanize
—Styx

TRUE *and* **FALSE.** Sure, they dehumanize. But they also instantly transform pieces of whole fruit into delicious juice. The debate continues.

If you want to find all the cops
They're hanging out in the doughnut shop.
—The Bangles

Not only is this **TRUE,** it is also **AMUSING,** insofar as the cops are now being served their doughnuts by former members of the Bangles.

Doo doo doo
Doo doo doo
Doo doo doo
Doo doo doodoo
Doo doo
—Duran Duran (*Hungry Like the Wolf*)

FALSE. As definitely proved years earlier by the Police, the factual answer is *De Do Do Do De Da Da Da.* M

ON THE WEB: To read Feschuk on the famous visit his blog **maclaans.ca/feschuk**

Start mixing business with pleasure.

CANADIAN BUSINESS

SUBSCRIBE NOW: *www.canadianbusiness.com/newCB*

THE END

NORMA ANN WRIGHT

1941-2009

Her husband's death pushed her to become a doctor. When patients died, she cried with the families.

Norma Ann Wright was born on March 11, 1941, to Niel "Mac" and Helena "Pat" McCuish, in Sudbury, Ont., and grew up in nearby Burwash. The village, where Mac worked as postmaster, was built around the Burwash Industrial Farm, a correctional facility that offered early lessons in compassion: the inmates coexisted with residents, fulfilling their manual labour needs. An outgoing girl with glacier-blue eyes, Norma, an only child, was happiest with other kids, playing outdoors until the coyotes began to howl.



"Nonnie," as she was often called, inherited her dad's warmth but was often at odds with her mom, who had been hardened by a difficult upbringing. After Grade 10, she spent summers waitressing in Wasaga Beach, and used her earnings to pay for boarding school. When she graduated, nursing was a natural choice, and she trained in Sudbury. Norma loved the contact with patients, and "the challenges of getting someone well again," says daughter Rachel.

Norma, who grew into a striking woman with lush, reddish-brown hair, was dating someone else when she met David Wright through friends. But David, a science student whose adventurous spirit rivalled her own, "was the one," says Rachel. They married in 1964, and soon moved to Grenada, where they spent two years as CUSO volunteers. While David taught school, Norma ran a clinic, and became adept at shooing "creepy crawly creatures out of the house," says daughter Rebecca, who was born on the island in 1966. They adapted well to the lifestyle, and took in stray dogs and injured turtles.

When they returned to Canada, Norma worked as a nurse and took university courses, with the understanding that when David finished his Ph.D. in freshwater parasitology, "it would be her turn," says Rebecca. In 1973, he got a job at a research centre in Burlington, Ont. They bought a house, and Norma, who had become pregnant with Rachel, enrolled at McMaster University in nearby Hamilton. But later that year, when David was driving home from a friend's cottage, he was hit by a drunk driver, and died from a brain injury.

Norma was devastated by the loss, but with two kids, "there was nothing she could do except keep moving," says Rebecca. If anything, says David's brother Peter, "it just made her more determined." With the life insurance money, she completed her B.A., and earned a master's before applying to medical school at McMaster. At first, she didn't get in—she was accused of trying to net a "rich husband," says Rebecca—but she reapplied the next year, and was accepted.

Balancing classes, exams and hospital rotations with single motherhood involved family and friends—and not a lot of sleep. But even though she often dozed off in the evenings while watching TV, "we were all together," says Rebecca. They became a night unit; whenever the girls missed her, Norma told them "I'm doing this for us." For graduation, Peter gave her a ceramic apple "to keep the doctor away." Decorative apples, given as gifts from patients, would later adorn her office and home.

When she set up her family practice in 1984, she'd "found her niche," says Peter. Within a year, she had to stop accepting new patients, though in reality, says Rachel, she "never said no to anybody." Norma would go to great lengths to get them the care they needed—in the case of obese patients too embarrassed to enter the clinic, that meant treating them in the parking lot. She began each day with a visit to Burlington's Joseph Brant Memorial Hospital, and made house calls to patients undergoing palliative care. When the end came, says Rachel, she "cried with the families."

By 2003, Norma was thinking about retirement. In the mid '80s, she had married Bruce Cowperthwaite (who was her patient until he told her he'd rather be her boyfriend), and they were looking forward to "starting a new chapter," says Rebecca. But in January, he had a heart attack and died. Again, Norma threw herself into work and family. Rebecca and her husband, Mike, moved in with her, and Rachel later joined them. Soon, Norma had another distraction: grandson Max, born in 2005.

Finally, after 25 years of working full time, Norma decided she would slow down. On Sept. 1, she was going to join a practice that offered four-day weeks, and six weeks of paid holiday. But on the morning of Aug. 14, she called out to her daughters, and told them "something was happening" to her, says Rebecca. When the ambulance arrived, she was still lucid enough to inquire about her blood pressure. By the time they got to Joseph Brant, however, there was nothing doctors could do. Norma had suffered a massive brain hemorrhage. She was 68.

BY RACHEL MENDLESON

ILLUSTRATION BY GENEVIEVE SIMMS

2 families, 2 homes, BLUE and YELLOW
Hammer in hand they compete to win the dream home they construct, design and decorate.
STARTS OCTOBER 4
9PM SUNDAY
ET/PT 8MT/CT



Citytv™

Vote for your favourite family design team each week online, view photos, get tips and more at Citytv.com

— in collaboration with —
ENERGY STAR HIGH EFFICIENCY HAUTE EFFICACITÉ
Produced by zone3

ROGERS


Not all prescriptions
come in a package.
Some come on a leash.
Pfizer
Working together for a healthier world™
At Pfizer, we believe to be truly healthy, it takes more than medication.
Introducing morethanmedication.ca – a website devoted to the
everyday pursuit of health and wellness.
morethanmedication.ca